What Can the Young Believe? *Robert F. Kennedy*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

March 11, 1967, 35 cents

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT
MAR 1967
LIBRARY

$30 Billion for Whom?

Frederic W. Collins

On Machiavelli — *Murray Kempton*

Full Unemployment — *Robert Theobald*

Hiroshima — *Selig S. Harrison*

Cowley as Critic — *Robert M. Adams*

MacBird on Stage — *Robert Brustein*

NEWSPAPER
05401
NR BIL3 C019 1 0168
GUY W BAILEY
UNIV OF VT
BURLINGTON VT

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Marboro SPRING-CLEANING SALE

You save while we clear our shelves. $10 books yours for as little as $1.98...$6.50 books now as low as $1. The savings are enormous but the quantities are small, so mail coupon today with satisfaction guaranteed.

1639. THE POEMS OF EDGAR ALLEN POE. With 12 wood engravings in color by J. G. Daragnes. LIMITED EDITION originally printed in Paris from hand set type and on handmade *papier velin;* bound in three-quarter shagreen leather with marbled paper sides colored by hand. Gilt top.
Orig. $25.00. *Only* **9.95**

1675. Gurdjieff: MEETINGS WITH REMARKABLE MEN. By G. I. Gurdjieff. Both colorful narrative and psychological autobiography—an account of the men who influenced his thought during his 20-year wanderings in Central Asia, prior to the Gurdjieff-Ouspensky Paris Institute years. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

1638. A HISTORY OF ENGLAND. By Goldwin Smith. The bloody, bawdy and brave pageant of British history from earliest times to the present; all the wars, rebellions, conquests, lives of Kings and Queens and Prime Ministers and other leaders; all the indomitable spirits of English people themselves. 915 pp; 130 illus., 21 maps. *Orig. $7.25.* *Only* **3.98**

1585. PERSIA-IRAN: A Pictorial Treasury of 25 Centuries. By A. E. Wooley. Gorgeous photo-tour of ancient Persia and modern Iran, from the ghostly whispers of Darius' palace and the ruins of Persepolis to the humming marketplaces of today. 245 PHOTOS, 49 IN FULL-COLOR; handsomely bound in white cloth; 9¼" x 12½".
Orig. $14.95. *Only* **7.98**

8518. THIS KIND OF WAR: A Study in Unpreparedness. By T. R. Fehrenbach. Carefully researched, yet popularly written account of the Korean War—the 1950 invasion, the 2,000,000-dead, the ceasefire & repatriation—detailing every major, and many minor actions. *115 illus., 700 pp.*
Orig. $10.00. *Only* **1.98**

2652. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE—THE COMPLETE WORKS. All that Shakespeare ever wrote—a fine, *complete* edition (3¼ inches thick!) following the arrangement of the First Folio of 1623, with "Pericles," the poems and sonnets appended. 1,100 DOUBLE-COLUMN PAGES, with ribbon bookmark. *Special import* **1.98**

3912. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE ARTS. Ed. by D. D. Runes and H. G. Schrickel. 1100-page compendium of all the arts of all times and places, presented by more than 100 leading authorities. Thousands of definitions of terms and techniques, plus informative biographical and historical summaries.
Orig. $15.00. *Only* **2.98**

1651. THE INNOCENTS. By E. D. Radin. Chilling study of American citizens convicted of murder, rape, robbery and other felonies *they never committed* by overzealous police, overambitious prosecutors, frame-ups and community blood-thirst—documented with over 70 cases from throughout the nation. *Orig. $4.50.* *Only* **1.49**

1644. KONSTANTIN STANISLAVSKY 1863-1963. Centennial tribute to the great Russian stage director and his famed "Method"—with memoirs and appreciations of his work by 47 eminent theatre figures, among them: Gorky, Eisenstein, Reinhardt, Duse, Chaplin, Gielgud, Clurman, Strasberg, and Brecht. 56 photos. *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **2.98**

1652. THE SEA & THE SWORD: The Baltic 1630-1945. By O. Warner. Enthralling naval history in its most romantic and varied aspects—of battles for power between Russia, Germany, Finland, Sweden & Denmark, between Gustavus Adolphus, Catharine the Great, Nelson, Napoleon, Bismarck, Hitler & Stalin. 22 illus., plus maps. *Orig. $6.00.* *Only* **2.98**

1809. AUBREY BEARDSLEY DRAWINGS. Published in conjunction with the Museum of Modern Art Beardsley exhibition — 151 DRAWINGS — from Lysistrata, Morte D'Arthur, Salome, Yellow Book, Savoy, Juvenal's VI Satire, Rape of the Lock, more. 8¾" x 11¼".
List Price $10.00. *Special* **6.95**

1521. THE MURDER OF ADMIRAL DARLAN. By Peter Tompkins. Dramatic anatomy of the international conspiracy which led to the assassination of Vichy's Admiral *after* his surrender to the Allies, of the plots and counterplots which dragged many now-famous public figures into betrayal, conspiracy, terrorism and murder—and of the resultant Gaullist coup. 14 photos. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

1394. STORY OF THE IRISH RACE. By Seumas MacManus; new revised edition. The whole saga of the Irish—from the time of Firbolg and the first Spanish-Milesian conquest through centuries of folklore, heroic legend and real-life derring do, the culture, arts, literature, history, the Risings, more. Over 700 pp. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **3.95**

9378. Simone de Beauvoir: FORCE OF CIRCUMSTANCE. Moving memoir offering rare insight into the attitudes, emotions and thoughts of one of France's most original thinkers; covers her relationships with Sartre, Algren and Claude Lanzmann, her estrangement from Camus, and her passionate opposition to De Gaulle's programs. 658 pp.
Orig. $10.00. *Only* **1.98**

1641. A HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION. By C. Harold King. Comprehensive survey of our heritage from earliest times to the mid-17th century; covers early Near-East, the Classic World, Middle Ages, the New World, all the events, trends and individuals of importance. 740 pp; over 400 illus. & 150 maps & diagrams. *Orig. $7.95.* *Only* **2.98**

1640. KARAKORAM: The Ascent of K3. By Fosco Maraini. Spellbinding account of the expedition that climbed Mt. Gasherbrum IV, a hitherto unscaled peak in the Himalayas, with vivid descriptions of triumph and terror, of the majestic ranges and the men who climb them. 100 superlative photos, 55 in color. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **3.98**

1633. Peter Altenberg's EVOCATIONS OF LOVE. Illus. by Alexander King. Collection of the haunting and unforgettable poems, sketches and essays of the gifted Austrian writer, Peter Altenberg. King's drawings in full-color & line, handsomely printed; slipcased; 8½" x 11".
Orig. $6.50. *Only* **1.98**

1583. ANTIQUE AND CLASSIC CAMERAS. By H. I. Gross. Excellent handbook for collectors of antique and classic cameras, lenses & photo accessories—*227* ILLUSTRATIONS—plus information on finding specimens, judging value, testing, resale values, predictions for antiques of the future. 7" x 10".
Orig. $10.00. *Only* **4.98**

1369. THE DAY OF THE LION: Italy, Mussolini & Fascism. By Roy MacGregor-Hastie. Engrossing history of the life and death of Fascist Italy (1922-45), from the days when Fascism and Il Duce were signs of hope to the death of the regime, and its legacy today. 16 photos. *Orig. $9.00.* *Only* **2.98**

1142. George Grosz: ECCE HOMO. Intro. by Lee Revens; *limited edition.* Under the heretical title, brilliantly accurate, indelible portraits of Germany between-the-wars that make a mockery of 2000 years of theology, of the evolutionist's optimism, of the humanist's ethical piety—84 DRAWINGS & 16 WATERCOLORS, FOLIO SIZE—the indelible ink of life-as-it-is in: cafe & street scenes, waltz dreams, Mommy & Daddy, mutilated war heroes, orgies & white slavers, puking drunks, monsters of every description. Handsomely bound; sturdy Slipcase; 10½" x 14½".
Orig. $35.00. *Only* **14.95**

1024. In One Volume: COMPLETE COURSE IN OIL PAINTING. By Olle Nordmark. A self-teaching system that guides the beginner to sound craftsmanship; complete technical information on methods, materials, perspective; fully explanatory. 215 illus., 14 in color, 7¾" x 10½". *Special* **4.95**

1023. VISUAL ART FOR INDUSTRY. By George C. Magnan. A comprehensive guide to the techniques of industrial art plus vocational opportunities for artists in industry: production illustration, handbooks, manuals, charts, visual aids, displays, movies with on-the-job examples from the files of large corporations. 150 illus., 7 color plates, 8⅜" x 10½".
Orig. $15.00. *Only* **1.98**

1022. TECHNIQUES OF PICTURE MAKING. By Henry Gasser. Handsome gallery of drawings, diagrams, photos and finished art works in various mediums arranged, with descriptive text, to show both students and professionals how your "picture working" can carry added emotional impact and viewer appeal—presents a wide variety of techniques and methods with preliminary sketches and step-by-step demonstrations in full color. 397 illus. 47 in color; 8¼" x 10½". *Orig. $10.50.* *Only* **2.98**

1020. ART IN LATIN AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE. By Paul Damaz; Preface by Oscar Niemeyer. Handsomely illustrated survey with comprehensive coverage of such eminent artists and architects as O'Gorman, Tamayo, Orozco, Niemeyer, Villanueva, and Obregon with their finest murals, stained glass, mosaics, and structures from office buildings to houses and monuments. 409 photos, 16 in color; 8¼" x 10½". *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **2.98**

1019. CONTEMPORARY HOUSES: Evaluated by Their Owners. Ed. by Thomas Creighton. Frankly and freely, the owners of 36 custom-designed houses tell what they like and don't like—a collection of outstanding homes as well as a critical report. 209 photos and floor plans, 8⅜" x 10½".
Orig. $11.50. *Only* **1.98**

9996. THE PHILOSOPHY OF JUDAISM. By Zvi Cahn. A wisdom which is a way of life—the development of Jewish thought throughout the ages, the Bible, Talmud, the Jewish philosophers, and the Cabala, to the present; answering all the layman's basic questions. *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **2.49**

9872. Dame Edith Sitwell: TAKEN CARE OF. Autobiography of the world-famous Dame of lordly eccentricities who here, "takes care of" such targets as D. H. Lawrence, Wyndham Lewis, Strachey, Galsworthy, F. R. Leavis and George Moore (and her friendships are just as funny). *22* photos.
Orig. $5.95. *Only* **1.98**

9889. THE RUSSIAN JEW—Under Tsars & Soviets. By Salo W. Baron. Comprehensive history of the Jewish community in Russia from the earliest settlements to the present, the swings of Tsarist policy that have meant honor or bloody pogroms, and anti-Semitism under today's rulers.
Orig. $7.50. *Only* **2.49**

6293. Sartre: BEING AND NOTHINGNESS. Trans. & intro. by Hazel E Barnes. Jean-Paul Sartre's *magnum opus,* a *sine qua non* for understanding Existentialism and its importance as one of the leading philosophical movements of our time. Over 700 pp.
Orig. $10.00. *Only* **2.98**

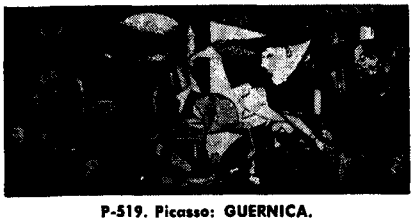
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1627. CHRISTIANITY IN MODERN ART. By Frank & Dorothy Getlein. Impressive survey of the modern painters, architects and sculptors who have rediscovered Christianity in their works—OVER 100 PHOTOS & ART REPRODUCTIONS—the works of Lipchitz, Zorach, Rouault, Gaudi, Dali, Tobey, Corbusier, Breuer, Georgia O'Keeffe, many others. *Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.98**

1632. CHARLES CHAPLIN—MY AUTOBIOGRAPHY. The greatest comic genius of our time and his incredible life and times: London boyhood and terrible poverty, free-wheeling Hollywood days and the birth of the "Little Tramp," dazzling international success and "life at the top," his four marriages and self-exile from the US, and his continuing career today. 512 pp; over 100 priceless photos. *Orig. $6.95.* Only **1.98**

1584. VANISHING JAPAN. By M. W. Huber. A truly handsome and impressive glimpse of this ancient land and of its people—112 PHOTOS, WATERCOLORS, INK & PENCIL SKETCHES, 41 IN FULL COLOR—of wind-blown pines, ancient pagodas, Buddhist shrines, floating lanterns, country fields, fishermen, more. 8¾" x 11¼". *Orig. $12.50.* *Only* **6.98**

1530. Christopher Isherwood: A SINGLE MAN. Compelling, sympathetic novel of one day in the life of a single man—a man of intellect and humor, impassioned and gentle, at work and on-the-prowl—while consumed with grief over the recent death of the young man he has lived with for many years. *Orig. $4.00.* *Only* **1.00**



P-519. Picasso: GUERNICA.

ON GENUINE ARTISTS' CANVAS—silkscreen reproduction after Picasso's masterpiece, proclaiming his horror of the mass bombardment of the Basque village, Guernica, during the Spanish Civil War; in grays, blacks and yellows. 16" high x 35" wide image area. *Special* **6.95**

P-520. The above on heavy art stock. *Special* **3.95**

1531. STRATEGIC AIR COMMAND—A PORTRAIT. By Maj. C. B. Goodie, USAF. First portrait and a definitive record of America's SAC Force—NEARLY 200 MAGNIFICENT PHOTOS—SAC's history, hour-by-hour operations, equipment, and men in a world of power, tense readiness and constant drama. 12½" x 8". *Orig. $9.95.* *Only* **2.98**

1290. THE NEW YORK TIMES BOOK OF INTERIOR DESIGN AND DECORATION. Ed. by George O'Brien. A splendid, authoritative guide to the best in American decoration for the apartment, the house, the vacation home. 238 photos, 24 in full-color; glossary of terms & styles; 8¼" x 10¾". *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **4.95**

1158. Bertrand Russell: WISDOM OF THE WEST Unique, illustrated history of Western Philosophy by the famed Nobel Prize winner; describes the progression from the pre-Socratics through Judeo-Christian thinking to Sartre, Jaspers, Wittgenstein, etc. 500 ILLUS., 250 IN FULL COLOR; 8" x 11". *Orig. $12.50.* *New complete edition* **4.95**

9854. A NEW DICTIONARY OF MUSIC. By Arthur Jacobs. Basic reference for both performers and laymen—covers orchestral, solo, choral & chamber music, opera, ballet music, composers (with biographies and details of compositions), works well-known by title, performers, orchestras, instruments, technical terms, and much much more. *Orig. $6.75.* *Only* **1.98**

1025. Reinhold's PHOTO & MOVIE BOOK for Amateur Photographers. By H. Freytag. Full, yet concise account of still and movie photo techniques necessary to good picture taking—300 ILLUSTRATIONS IN COLOR & BLACK/WHITE—dealing with equipment, lighting, portraits, snaps, night photos, special effects, color work, darkroom tips, more. Fully indexed; easy carrying size. *Orig. $9.95.* *Only* **1.98**

4040. A DICTIONARY OF SYMBOLS. By J. E. Cirlot; preface by Herbert Read. The first reference work to provide a central source for symbological studies, *with the essential, unvarying meaning of every symbol known to Oriental and Western man*—symbols from art, literature, myth, ritual, magic—everything from Abracadabra to Yang-Yin. 32 halftone plates, 49 line drawings. *Orig. $12.00.* *Only* **2.98**

7717. Bulfinch: MYTHOLOGY. The complete *Age of Fable, Age of Chivalry* and *Legends of Charlemagne* in one volume—all the traditional tales of adventure, romance and chivalry from the Trojan War to Robin Hood, from classical through medieval times. 679 pages, index. *Special import* **1.98**

1460. THE SWORDBEARERS: Supreme Command in the First World War. By Correlli Barnett. Brilliant portraits of the four Supreme Commanders, Moltke, Jellicoe, Petain & Ludendorff—against the whole panorama of the Great War, its antecedents, conduct & consequences. 90 photos & maps. *Orig. $7.50.* *Only* **2.77**

1520. Bruce Jay Friedman: A MOTHER'S KISSES. Roaring comedy; picaresque mother-and-son adventures from NYC to a lake resort to a Kansas campus—with *MOTHER* a combination of the Wife of Bath, Medea, Fanny Brice, Al Jolson's Mammy, Hamlet's ditto, in a size 12 dress (wholesale), and the richest New York vocabulary East of LA. *Orig. $4.95.* *Only* **1.00**

1478. Astor to Zeckendorf—THE LANDLORDS. By E. Rachlis & J. E. Marqusee. Multiple biography and historical chronicle of the speculators, gamblers and dreamers who created skyscrapers out of slums, whole suburbs from barren fields, and huge fortunes (sometimes) for themselves: Van Sweringen, Flagler, Black, French, the Levitts, Kazan, others. 25 illus. *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.98**

1480. POWER AT THE PENTAGON. By Jack Raymond. The engrossing story of the greatest power center the world has ever seen: its world-wide intelligence net-work, fantastic weapons, military politics, the "McNamara Monarchy", the men who hold the power, more. *Orig. $6.50.* *Only* **1.00**

1254. Thoreau: THE MAINE WOODS. By Henry David Thoreau. Handsomely illustrated, new edition of this classic of the north woods; records the great naturalist-philosopher's impressions based on his three trips through the area. Illus. by H. B. Kane. *Orig. $5.50.* *New complete edition* **1.98**

1258. Thoreau: CAPE COD. By Henry David Thoreau; Intro. by H. Beston. The sights and moods of the great beach and windswept dunes, the gulls, cliffs and ever-rolling sea; also includes the Journal of his 1857 Excursion. Illus. by H. B. Kane. *Orig. $5.50.* *New complete edition* **1.98**

1353. A Pictorial Treasury—THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM. A magnificent edition of one of the great treasures of world literature, *exquisitely illustrated in full color* by the noted Persian artist Sarkis Katchadourian. Printed on genuine rag paper, beautifully bound. 7" x 10". *Special* **1.98**

7897. TREASURY OF WORLD LITERATURE. A huge collection of the world's literary wealth; 300 selections representing nearly every culture that has left literary records and every literary genre from Homer to Joyce—Greek tragedy and modern Japanese theater, Songs of the Judean kings and philosophic fiction by Gide and Sartre, Oriental, Near Eastern and Western literary landmarks. 1458 pp. *Orig. $15.00.* *Only* **2.98**

4667. ROGET'S THESAURUS of Words and Phrases. Authorized, revised edition of the indispensable book for everyone who wants to find the right word at the right time. 600-page hardbound edition. *Special* **1.98**

1522. PARIS NIGHTS. By C. Ross Smith. Incredible tales of Paris and the hours of darkness with their necessities, terrors and amusements: students stealing Maupassant's skull, the desperate world of the addict, *Les Halles* laborers, the furtive worlds of St. Germain and Pigalle, of gangsters and the strange eyries of *les grandes familles*—a remarkable, engrossing tour de force! *Orig. $5.95.* *Only* **1.00**

1518. Nikos Kazantzakis: JAPAN AND CHINA. Compelling, brilliant panorama of two voyages through the Far East in 1935 and 1957: the people, philosophies, arts; Hong Kong, Kobe, Tokyo, Kyoto, Peking, Shanghai; Japanese menace in the 30's, the Chinese Revolution—by the author of *Zorba the Greek* and *The Last Temptation of Christ. Orig. $5.00.* *Only* **1.49**

1458. Jean-Paul Sartre: ANTI-SEMITE & JEW. Brilliant portrait of both anti-Semite *and* Jew, written by a non-Jew from a non-Jewish point of view—examines anti-Semites in every form from subtle snobbery to Nazi-style gangsterism—and the Jew in every aspect of his relations with the Gentile world. *Orig. $4.00.* *Only* **1.00**

1457. MACMILLAN MEDICAL CYCLOPEDIA. By W. A. R. Thomson, MD. Peerless medical reference, both an excellent home-advisor & a memory-jogger for doctors and nurses—415 ILLUSTRATIONS, 1,013 DOUBLE-COLUMN PAGES—thousands of clear, precise definitions and explanations of what-to-do & how-to-do-it for countless medical needs, from tying a bandage to nursing the flu, to telling the reader when to call in a doctor. *Orig. $7.95.* *Only* **2.98**

1397. LENINGRAD: History-Art-Architecture. By Nigel Gosling. Gloriously illustrated panorama of one of the most beautiful and least known cities in the world, the hereditary capital of the Tsars and birthplace of the Russian Revolution—250 PHOTOS & ART REPRODUCTIONS, 69 IN FULL COLOR—the Neva, Winter Palace, Finland Station, Cathedral of SS Peter & Paul, the Hermitage and its collection, Tsarskoe Selo, Ekaterininsky Palace, Peterhof, Pushkin & Maryinsky Theatres, the ballet, the music, the writers, the grandeur, the splendor! 9¾" x 12¼". *Orig. $25.00.* *Only* **9.95**

R-120. PRESENTING THE NEW YORK PRO MUSICA. Exciting, rarely performed works faithfully presented, including Handel's "Music for Ancient Instruments," Morley's "Madrigals," Purcell's "Songs and English Medieval Carols," Blow's "Ode on the Death of Purcell," others; all cond. by Noah Greenberg. *7 record set.* Orig. sold singly for $35.00. **Stereo.** *Only* **9.95**
R-121. The above in **mono.** *Only* **9.95**

9381. ENCYCLOPEDIA OF RELIGION. Ed. by Vergilius Ferm. A comprehensive reference on every facet of religion, religious faith and practices, detailed in thousands of authoritative, readable articles by scholars—denominational views, schools of thought and practices, historical movements and figures, Protestantism, Catholicism, Judaism, Eastern religions, etc. 844 pp. *Orig. $10.00.* *Only* **2.98**

MAIL THIS COUPON TODAY!

marboro Dept NR137, 131 Varick St., New York, N.Y. 10013

Please send me the bargains circled below. **(Please add 35c postage and handling on all orders under $10.).**

MINIMUM MAIL ORDER $3.

☐ Ship C.O.D.* ☐ Enclosed find $_____

Charge my (Check One) ___Amer. Exp. ___Diners Club ___Carte Blanche ___Uni-Card } Limited to orders of $5.00 or more

account # _____ the amount of $_____

1019	1020	1022	1023	1024	1025	1142	1158	1254
1258	1290	1353	1369	1394	1397	1457	1458	1460
1478	1480	1518	1520	1521	1522	1530	1531	1583
1584	1585	1627	1632	1633	1638	1639	1640	1641
1644	1651	1652	1675	1809	2652	3912	4040	4667
6293	7717	7897	8518	9378	9381	9854	9872	9889
9996	R120	R121					P519	P520

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

☐ **Check here if you receive monthly bargain circular.** New York City residents add 5% sales tax. Other New York State residents add applicable sales tax. *A few cents extra for C.O.D. Add 25¢ per title for deliveries outside U.S.A. and possessions. 10-DAY SATISFACTION OR MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE.

VISIT A MARBORO BOOK SHOP

NEW YORK: 47 W. 42 St. • 56 W. 8 St. • 144 W. 57 St. • 966 3rd Ave.
PHILADELPHIA: King of Prussia Plaza (Rts 202, 23) • Roosevelt Mall Shopping Center, Roosevelt Blvd. & Cottman St., (Next to Klein's)
MIAMI: 96 Miracle Mile, Coral Gables
CINCINNATI: 27 W 6th St. (in the Terrace Hilton Bldg.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from Washington*

Briefings

★ Secretary Rusk says one thing, Moscow says another. The issue is negotiations in Vietnam. The only way you can resolve the issue is to ask President Johnson at a press conference. But Mr. Johnson rarely holds regular formal press conferences. He holds sudden, informal gatherings attended by the 30 or so reporters regularly attached to the outer lobby of the White House.

The Washington press corps is a large, cohesive body. A few hours after Secretary Rusk holds an off-the-record briefing, as he did the other day, everybody in Washington knows what he said. He still takes the position that Hanoi has made no possible offer, and further, that Moscow is on our side to the degree that it wants Hanoi to make a better offer. (Maybe Moscow does want peace; on the other hand, however, some wonder if its interests aren't better served by war, and the possible diversion of China's paranoidal hatred at us.)

Last week, with no notification, Mr. Johnson called in the lobby reporters to put on the record an important and revealing conference. They are excellent correspondents, but there was no time for homework or specialized inquiries. Nobody pushed him on Moscow or the points of the Rusk briefing.

One good thing – no radio or TV were present. Those reporters fortunate enough to be there said Mr. Johnson was quiet and appealing. He seemed to have made a decision; there was an air of finality about it.

He had decided, he implied, to "step up" the war; not "escalate," step up. It would come moderately, he implied, little by little. Bombing North Vietnam, he said, keeps a communist military and labor force of 500,000 men off balance. "I do believe this is the best course," he said quietly.

He left so many questions unanswered. The formal press conference evolved here in Washington over 40 years as a vehicle for gathering the press together, but Mr. Johnson has all but abolished it. As he left the position he will not destroy Hanoi, as the hawks want, nor will he halt bombing, as the doves (including Kennedy) want. The latest Gallup poll, incidentally, says 67 percent of Americans favor continued bombing. If the Viet Cong *should* capitulate Mr. Johnson will be a hero. (We see no sign of it; they are using bigger Soviet weapons.) If they don't surrender the war will drag through the election and will be the one issue. Republicans will charge the Administration can't win the war or make peace. The issue will be Mr. Johnson's credibility, and his judgment.

The country and the world are uncertain but the President does not know how to gain their trust. He finds regular, candid communication with public opinion and its representatives distasteful. His alternative methods are only partly successful.

Mired, Too

★ It must be said that the Republicans are mostly mired, too. They don't know which way to jump. This appeared in a revelation in Governor Romney's recent five-state tour. He did all right till he got to the subject of Vietnam. Then he lost his poise and refused to answer questions.

Another aspect is the sense of frustration in Congress. The latest $4.5 billion military authorization passed 89 to 2, but not before a vague, "sense - of - Congress" position paper was tacked on, 72 to 19, that meant anything you wanted it to mean: it backed presumed Administration peace efforts and desires to prevent escalation. Nineteen suspicious hawks voted "No." From the submerged restlessness came significant individual statements. Homespun, respected Sen. Aiken (R, Vt.) said flatly the military policy had "failed." Senator Mansfield rather pathetically promised to remove US troops "six months" after peace.

Senator Javits came out against bombing. Robert Kennedy offered a 3-step proposal. Halt the bombing and bombardment of North Vietnam and say we are ready to begin discussions within the week. As soon as bombing is halted, international teams under the United Nations or a strengthened International Control Commission would report any effort by either side to increase its strength while peace talks proceed. Under the direction of the UN, and with an international presence gradually replacing American forces, all the people of South Vietnam, communist and non-communist, Buddhist and Christian, should be able to choose their leaders through free elections and resolve the question of Vietnamese reunification.

Kennedy explained that his proposal would be a test of the sincerity of statements by Soviet Premier Kosygin and others, that if attacks on the North were halted, negotiations would begin.

Snowfall

★ A lesser tragedy of all this is that Mr. Johnson is sending up to Congress, message by message, one of the finest programs of liberal proposals ever compiled by a President. It is being obscured by Vietnam. These have gone up in such a flock that we doubt whether you have grasped their significance. He has not interpreted the election as a call for retreat, he is outlining an agenda that will occupy Congress for years. His proposed 1967 civil rights bill, as we read it, is just about as stiff as the one Dirksen filibustered to death last year; the President calls for it urgently and eloquently. How can the nation let Negro GIs come back from Vietnam to find segregated housing? he asks. Politically, it might have been easier to drop the subject. He didn't. "I am proposing fair housing legislation again this year," he said, "because it is decent and right."

There is everything in this snowfall of messages: you name it, we have it. A start to federally aided educational TV. A pilot program for free meals for preschool children. An anti-crime program that forecasts a floor under ghetto incomes to cut off poverty from crime. Also Paul Douglas' old truth-in-lending program. It's all there.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 156 Number 10 Issue 2728 March 11, 1967*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $9; Foreign $10; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6. Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright © 1967 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Readers' Guide.

CONTENTS

COMMENT 5-9
Gilt-edged Guilt, Let Them Eat Their Tin Cups, Reform the Draft, Educational Television, Running the Nation's Capital, Clarification

Come to Haiti and Meet Papa Doc's Police – *Harvey Rosenhouse* 10

What Can the Young Believe? – *Robert F. Kennedy* 11

$30 Billion for Whom? – *Frederic W. Collins* 13

The Goal of Full Unemployment – *Robert Theobald* 15

FEIFFER 19

Haunted and Haunting *by Stanley Kauffmann* 20

BOOKS – *Reviews by Murray Kempton, Robert Martin Adams, Selig S. Harrison, Gerald W. Johnson* 21

POEM *by Richmond Lattimore* 23

THEATRE *by Robert Brustein and Gordon Rogoff* 30

ART *by Frank Getlein* 33

CORRESPONDENCE 34

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor – Alex Campbell
Books and Arts Editor – Robert Evett
Associate Literary Editor – Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors – James Ridgeway, Andrew Kopkind
Staff Writer – David Sanford
Assistant to the Editors – F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel, Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes, Robert Coles, Joseph Featherstone, Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein, Irving Howe, Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson, Pauline Kael

Publisher – Garth Hite
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
New York Advertising Representative – E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White 50 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. 10017

Gilt-edged Guilt

Periodically, the nation has shivers of self-doubt. The abscessed underside of affluence is exposed and we are shaken. The President's Crime Commission surveys two large cities and finds that 43 percent of those questioned stay off the streets at night because they're afraid. We can deter the potential aggressor overseas but not the aggressors in our midst. What's happening? The leaders don't trust the people, and the people don't trust them. Truth is dishonored. The cover up substitutes for candor. The activist young are appalled – not just normally resentful of their elders, but writing them off. They refer not to "our" society or "our" country, but "theirs" – the others, the power structure. Unable to civilize it, and often not knowing how they would if they could, they denounce it and all its apologists; they say that when the politicians don't lie, they evade.

And they do. For instance, the President last week, in a hurriedly called press conference – intended, some thought, to head off a speech on Vietnam which Senator Robert F. Kennedy was to deliver the following day (and postponed 48 hours) – had his attention called to stepped-up US military action in Vietnam. There was shelling of the North by the Navy, long-range artillery fire into the North (for the first time, and on the very day Secretary McNamara said "we should take steps to avoid widening the war"). We are also mining Vietnamese rivers. Mr. Johnson would not be drawn into any admission that the war had thereby been escalated. He would only allow as how there was "some activity taking place that we would not say had been normal." What restraint or even plain speaking is possible from leaders who are persuaded they are doing the Lord's work in Vietnam, and that any means to that end are justified?

Senator Russell says he is disturbed that CIA cover has been blown, because the effectiveness of the Intelligence Agency has been damaged. He does not mention – indeed seems oblivious to – the damage done to general confidence in the honesty of Americans and their institutions. Barry Goldwater, who prizes private enterprise and hates federal handouts, defends the billions spent by CIA in its contrived manipulation of private enterprise. His only criticism is that the fire fighters against communism who were subsidized were left-wingers, socialists; his young conservatives should have been cut in. The initial reaction of Democratic and Republican leaders in the House and Senate to the CIA revelations seemed calculated to encourage cynicism about the democratic process. One after another the Con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gressmen insisted that concealing the source of the subsidies was necessary, because if the government's hand had been visible, Congress would not have permitted the money's being spent as it was. Secret funding was required, therefore, not only to deceive foreigners, but to deceive Congress! To know is to be complicit, and to be complicit is to be compromised.

The handling of Adam Clayton Powell is another instance of high-minded evasion – another instance where "the jury, passing on the prisoner's life/may in the sworn twelve/have a thief or two/guiltier than him they tried." Powell, the House has decided, is to be expelled. No concerted effort was made by the leadership of either party or by the civil rights groups to put across the far less severe, but severe enough, recommendations of the committee which investigated Powell. The issue became not his right to be seated, but wickedness. His "morals are shocking," said one Republican. "Thou shalt not steal," said another.

One witnesses again how selective the House can be in expressing moral indignation (just as US foreign policy is selective about where it will dictate to others and where it will not). Any Washington reporter knows the House is riddled with small and large takers and givers of gratuities, and that the Congress has again and again declined to police misconduct. When the transgressor is Adam Clayton Powell, however, the most powerful Negro ever to sit in that body, unprecedented penalties are imposed. Powell and his judges understand that he grasps no harder for perquisites than many of them. They know too that his dishonesty has been matched by more constructive legislative work than has been accomplished by many of his colleagues. But they were out to prove, through him, *their* integrity, and to do it without incriminating themselves (he cannot investigate *them*). Many of them (including all but seven Southerners) were out to show also that it's time to blow a whistle on pushy blacks.

". . . and as for my colleague, Adam Powell, I feel that we should temper justice with mercy."

We pretend to more nobility than we have or may be capable of. In Colorado last week, 46 cadets left the Air Force Academy, having been implicated in, or known of, cheating. "We will not lie, steal, or cheat nor tolerate among us anyone who does," is the high creed to which these young men are pledged. If they had not been so unlucky as to have been caught, would they not have gone on in their careers tolerating a great many such lapses from honor, and conspiring in a few themselves? The superintendent of the Air Force Academy believes that, "perhaps the most important thing a young person can take from the Academy is a sense of dedication to something outside himself." That is the sort of inspiration we feed the young, but what is to sustain such idealism in later years? By not pinning our hopes to such moral simplicities, we might be able to live more "wittingly" with the ambiguities of life. There are many sorts of betrayals. "Reliability," E. M. Forster wrote, "is not a matter of contract – that is the main difference between the world of personal relationships and the world of business relationships."

The students in our colleges and universities are adrift. But not only because the largest of their organizations, the NSA, has been rendered ineffective; the students will probably find ways of reforming that organization or creating new ones. But they have been scarred by the knowledge of deception in their ranks – deception they now suspect pervades the whole society. Convenience and conscience collide, and the former wins. The young radicals have said: you can't trust anybody over 30. It is a foolish thing to believe, but not as corrosive as the conviction, to which they may come, that you can't trust anybody under 30.

Shivers of self doubt raise basic questions about the community. At what point do large numbers of citizens come to feel that the nation no longer merits their confidence? In the Eisenhower era, Congress by official act affirmed "In God we trust," and the motto was ordered placed on all paper money and coins. The money's still good and pays the bills of the Pentagon, the CIA, Adam Powell and Air Force cadets. It's the trust that has been devalued.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Let Them Eat Their Tin Cups

CARE is hastily shifting aid food from other parts of India to Bihar and Uttar Pradesh states which are having a famine. Meanwhile, $25 million worth of aid food intended for emergency distribution in those two states is still in this country. Shipment was okayed by all war-on-hunger agencies last December, and President Johnson could have sent the food on his own say-so. But he sought specific congressional authority, in the form of an endorsement of his policy to pressure "all other nations" into 50-50 participation with the United States in feeding India; the US alone already feeds one Indian in eight. Agriculture Secretary Freeman told Congress on February 28 that food in the pipeline assures a steady flow to India into early summer, time enough to fix the joint-aid approach that Mr. Johnson wants. But it's a long pipeline and some congressmen and others charge the President with playing politics with the lives of millions of Indian children precariously existing on an average of 700 calories a day.

Mr. Johnson said last month: "In the long run, the wealthy nations cannot survive as islands of abundance in a world of hunger." So he proposed that the Agency for International Development have an Office of the War on Hunger. However, he assured Congress that as an economy step OWOH will have neither new appropriations nor new personnel. This seems to make nonsense of AID Administrator William S. Gaud's claim that OWOH "will have the expertise, staff and prestige necessary to play a strong leadership role in our frontal assault on world hunger."

Hitherto, getting rid of surplus food has been an important part of foreign aid. Now that the surpluses are nearly all gone while the hungry mouths still multiply, the task is seen as imparting this country's tremendous farming know-how to needy countries so they can grow their own food. This is all right, but let's not kid ourselves it will be simple. In 50 years, India's grain output per acre has risen only six percent (Japan, 50 percent, this country, 95 percent). What's called for is an average annual increase of at least three percent, continued for 20 years, of grain output in the hungry countries including India. It is also urgently necessary to slash birth rates. The Indians are adding 10 to 12 million people every year but have now promised to quadruple their "voluntary population program" in the next five years; that means the program will reach eight percent of Indian women of childbearing age in 1971.

Foreign aid should not be a dole to stave off famine, war and revolution or to impose policies politically acceptable here on aid-receiving countries. It is in danger of becoming that. President Johnson bluntly told GIs in Korea last November: "There are three billion people in the world and we have only 200 million of them. We are outnumbered 15 to 1. If might made right they would sweep over us and take what we have. We have what they want." Aid to needy, mainly nonwhite countries grew out of the cold war contest with the Russians. The amount has diminished with The Thaw despite the need being as great as ever. There has been no improvement in the rate of growth in the less-developed countries in the past 15 years, yet the total of aid is diminishing and the $3.1 billion the President is asking for both economic and military assistance is the smallest sum ever requested. Adding in food shipments and bank loans brings it to nearer $5 billion, but that's a smaller share (.7 percent) of national income than France or Belgium allots. It's also less than what this country spends each year on toys, and sports items including pleasure craft ($6.4 billion).

Most of the proposed $2.5 billion economic aid will go to eight countries; South Vietnam is scheduled to get three times as much as all of Africa (39 countries). The Africans are supposed to be cheered by Mr. Johnson's assurance that in their case AID will "seek new breakthroughs in private investment." The Congo, the Sudan and Tanzania didn't get the message; last month all three announced they will nationalize businesses, especially big foreign firms. So perhaps it's as well AID's other new office, like OWOH, is also not to have appropriations or personnel beyond what AID can already furnish. This is the Office of Private Resources, which the President told Congress will "concentrate on marshaling private investment and the expansion of private sectors in the less-developed world," as "the best long-term route to rapid growth." If the less-developed world happens not to agree – and it doesn't – what do we do, tell it to go starve?

The point is, we're not offering all that much aid that would get us that kind of leverage. And 90 percent of the aid is tied to our expensive goods, which robs it of half its nominal, foreign-exchange value. Additionally, we clap high tariffs on all their exports that aren't just raw materials – their textiles, shoes, bicycles; then, the aid is mostly in loans, not grants, and some countries are kept poor just repaying old loans. The whole aid-trade pattern needs revising. Until then, we white donors should fight smugness. Instead, we get smugger.

The new Foreign Aid Act proposes an Advisory Committee on Self-Help; private Americans who'll be empowered to poke into as many aid programs in as many countries as they see fit, to "see whether the recipients are extending their best efforts." Spent that way, $3.1 or even $5 billion can buy a lot of anti-Americanism.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reform the Draft

One of the games Washington has been playing is Beat the Draft Commission. The object is to anticipate what the President's draft panel will come up with to reform our haphazard conscription system. Newspapers got the game going by announcing what the draft panel (led by Burke Marshall, former head of the Justice Department's civil rights division) would recommend weeks before the group's report had been run off and sent to the White House. Then Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts scooped the commission with similar recommendations of his own. Finally, the Pentagon acted to stop young men from using the reserves as a haven from service, thus preempting the commission's qualms about the reserves.

The final report of the Marshall commission, whose official name is the National Advisory Commission on Selective Service, is now in President Johnson's hands and its release is said to be imminent. (But, then, the report was supposed to have been completed last January 1.) If the recommendations seem a bit familiar when they are made public, it will be because we have already learned of them.

The report is said to contain three principal proposals: (1) The order of induction into the armed forces should be reversed so that the youngest eligible men are drafted first. Nineteen should replace 26 as the age of greatest vulnerability. (2) Student deferments should be gradually done away with, thus eliminating an effective exemption from service for those wealthy enough or smart enough to spend their twenties in graduate school. (3) A lottery should be used to determine who, from among those judged fit, would be inducted. Secondary proposals concern eliminating the inconsistent practices of the 4,000 local draft boards and making it harder for men to avoid active duty, especially combat service, by joining the reserves.

The changes favored by the draft commission and other critics of General Hershey's system could be effected by an executive order of the President. But since the Universal Military Training and Service Act lapses July 1, Congress must take positive action if the draft is to continue. The Armed Services Committees of both Houses promise hearings once the President comes forward with his recommendations, and Senator Joseph Clark's subcommittee on employment, manpower, and poverty plans hearings on the effects of the draft on draft age men who find that a 1-A classification makes it almost impossible to find a job.

Senator Kennedy's five-point plan provides useful focus for these congressional discussions. Kennedy would not scuttle local boards, but use them to administer *uniform* national standards for induction. He would "preserve the reliance upon local knowledge which is a great strength of the present system" and the principal rationalization for a locally directed draft, but he would change conditions which allow some boards to draft 19-year-olds while others are taking men at 22, some to draft married men while others touch only bachelors, some to exempt former Peace Corps volunteers while others put them in uniform. He would choose draftees by random selection (a term he prefers to "lottery"), which would end favoritism for pro football stars and harassment of the George Hamiltons, Cassius Clays and Stokely Carmichaels. With no more deferments except in strictly defined cases of "extreme hardship," students would be as subject to call (either before or after four years of college) as poor boys pumping gas. The youngest men would be called up first – before they start their careers or start raising families, before they become involved in jobs which our scientifically biased society regards as "critical." Young men would serve during the period when service is least likely to mean a "violent disruption" of their lives, at a time when they have greater stamina and are quickest to learn and adapt. Finally, Kennedy would revise the Defense Department's physical and mental standards so that the relatively unfit could qualify for some jobs.

Senator Kennedy's is not the only plan. There are as many schemes for a new draft law as there are critics of the present system. Representative Richard Schweiker (R, Pa.) has a bill of his own, and the House Armed Services Committee's study group last week announced it favors reversing the order of induction, opposes a lottery, and seeks continuing college deferments except for graduate students in noncritical disciplines.

But no one in Washington is saying that the draft should be left as is.

Educational Television

The White House proposal for financing educational television is a small step on the way to establishing a fourth, public network. Mr. Johnson wants the Congress to create a federally financed, but nongovernmental corporation that would grant funds to nonprofit stations for program production. The money would also be spent to defray costs of station operations and for research into new communications techniques, especially in the field of satellite transmission. The new unit would be called the Corporation for Public Television and its affairs would be directed by 15 members, appointed by the President from the fields of education, communications and the creative arts; the budget for one year would be $9 million. In addition, the Admin-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

istration asks for additional grant money to help construct educational radio and television facilities, boosting this program from $3.3 million to $10.5 million.

While the President makes clear he is not thinking of a fourth network along the lines of Comsat (the new corporation is not to sell its stock to the public), he does not settle the tricky political question of how a public network is to be financed. In its recent report, the Carnegie Commission recommended that funds come in part from private sources, and from an excise tax levied on television sets. By contrast, the Ford Foundation had earlier proposed that some of the income from television satellite transmission be used to finance a public network. In effect, the Carnegie Commission proposes taxing the consumer, and the Ford Foundation taxing the television business. It seems to us that the underwriting of a fourth network ought to come from the television networks, as partial payment for their right to profit from public frequencies.

Running the Capital

The taxed but mute citizens of the nation's capital are no closer to having a voice in managing their hometown than they were in 1874, when Congress decided to take control of local affairs. Effective power over the District has ever since been held by the House District Committee, whose comprehension of or sympathy with urban problems is at best marginal. What leadership could John L. McMillan of Florence, S. C. (he became chairman of the committee in 1946) or Thomas G. Abernethy of Okalona, Mississippi (its second-ranking member whose committee service dates from 1943), provide a metropolis 91 percent of whose public school children are Negro, where more children drop out of public high school than graduate, and in which the homicide rate has doubled since 1960?

Again last week, the President reminded Congress that its 535 members "should not be expected to serve as city councilmen for the city of Washington." Since he could expect no more favorable reception this year for his plea than in previous years, Mr. Johnson accompanied his message by an announcement. Using authority given him by the Reorganization Act, he will, on his own, and as an interim measure, "make the present unwieldy structure into an efficient and effective instrument of municipal government." He plans to replace the existing three-man board of District commissioners, each of whom has run an independent principality, by a single executive who will preside over a presidentially appointed city council of nine members having two-year terms. The "mayor" would serve at the pleasure of the President, permitting the White House to have its own man and permitting the "mayor" to use that relationship to get things done. The reorganization becomes effective in 60 days – unless the Congress chooses to veto it.

Pending adoption of a constitutional amendment (which the President recommends) which would allow the District voting representatives in Congress, Mr. Johnson asks that Washingtonians have the right to elect one nonvoting delegate in the House. It's a modest request, and a good one.

Clarification

Our lead note of last week (*Playing It Straight*) did not get two things altogether straight. We reported that Mr. Frank Sieverts, a former regional officer of the NSA, had been appointed to direct the Katzenbach staff investigating CIA, that Mr. Sieverts keeps tabs on NSA for State and had attended the student group's annual Congress as a lobbyist for the Administration's position on Vietnam. Mr. Sieverts informs us that he "was asked to attend the NSA congress last summer to share a platform with Bernard Fall (whose untimely death I join you in mourning), and to participate in a roundtable discussion on Vietnam. I was there briefly, solely for these two public talks, not, as you would have it, 'in the dual role of students' pal and government's link.' Nor do I 'keep tabs on the organization for State.' Nothing like this has ever been part of my work at the State Department. I was totally unaware that CIA was funding NSA activities until I read it in the newspapers. Finally, I am not involved in the inquiry headed by Undersecretary Katzenbach, and most emphatically am not 'directing the investigators' staff'."

Concerning the MIT Press, its director has told us that it "has never 'used CIA money to publish studies' in any field." The imprint of the Press, he says, "is reserved for those scholarly or educative works which in the estimate of scholarly or academic critics at MIT or at other institutions lend substantive contributions or utility to a specific inquiry. The substance of each manuscript, along with such critical evaluation, is considered by an MIT faculty board, and only those works approved by this board are published by the MIT Press. Over the years, MIT Center for International Studies [which has received CIA funds – *The Editors*] has produced more than 100 books of which the MIT Press has been proud to publish 26. These books have been accepted for publication by the same process and on the same critical basis as all our other publications. To infer that any funding agency, government or otherwise, has dictated the selection of titles published by this, or any other, university press, confuses the support of research with the privilege of publication."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Perle des Antilles"

Come to Haiti and Meet Papa Doc's Police

"Happiness waits for you in Haiti," it says promisingly on the back of a Haitian government tourist card. But the few tourists who visit Duvalierist Haiti these days will find happiness a pretty elusive commodity. The tin and pasteboard Port au Prince air terminal, built as a temporary structure 20 years ago, is dusty and falling apart. The place swarms with loitering *Tonton Macoutes* – tough-looking hombres wearing sun glasses, reeking of rum, and packing pistols in their belts.

I was the first passenger in line at the immigration counter, but the clerk, eying my landing card, called over the airport chief, a graying man in khaki, and motioned me to stand aside and wait. Meanwhile, he checked through the other passengers.

I had not been in Haiti for nearly a decade and wondered why I was being singled out for special treatment. After a bit, a familiar little figure in a white suit carrying a thin coffee-colored cane entered the terminal. It was Aubelin Joliecoeur – the Petit Pierre of Graham Greene's novel, *The Comedians*. Joliecoeur, a local journalist with a knack for getting on with every regime ruling his country, told me Papa Doc had recently ordered airport authorities not to allow any foreign newsmen into the country without his express permission. So I was automatically under arrest while the airport chief called the *Palais* for instructions.

Phoning the *Palais* or anywhere else in Haiti is no simple matter. After nearly two hours of trying, the airport officials gave up and sent me to immigration police headquarters in Port au Prince under armed guard. A *Tonton Macoute* drove the car. The chief of immigration police, an unsmiling, muscular black with bloodshot eyes and a pink scar on one cheek waved me to a chair. On his glass-topped desk was a pearl-handled 38-caliber revolver and a blue sign with the legend: *"Dieu est amour."* After an hour, one of the chief's half-dozen phones began functioning. Finally, I was allowed to go to my hotel.

That day the black and red Haitian flag flew at half-mast atop the gleaming white presidential palace. Papa Doc was in mourning for Ti Bobó, an abusive *Tonton Macoute* chief shot to death by an enraged soldier whom he had pistol whipped. Duvalier attended the huge state funeral of his favorite thug and posthumously awarded him the Order of Jean-Jacques Dessalines, Haiti's highest honor – or rather, Duvalier's. As soon as word of Ti Bobó's demise spread via *telediol* – the Haitian grapevine – Port au Prince's poor broke out in wild celebration that the government dared not suppress. Ti Bobó, an extortionist who forced market women and small businessmen to pay him protection money, operated a small bar-restaurant and crapshooting establishment called "Saint Bernadette," and was adding a second floor to house a brothel when the soldier's bullet cut him down.

Normally, Papa Doc would make the punishment fit the crime – with compound interest. The accused would be tortured, executed and his disfigured cadaver, crawling with buzzing flies, displayed on the Grand Rue or the Champs de Mars for 24 hours as an object lesson for citizens similarly inclined. This time, fearing harsh punishment might provoke real trouble, Duvalier merely jailed the soldier after interrogating him.

Hope is about all Haitians have left. Those who can, emigrate. The consular section of the US embassy in Port au Prince is jammed with people applying for visas. Largely because of the depressed economy, 40,000 Haitians have gone to the United States, another 25,000 to the Bahamas. Most technicians and two-thirds of all Haitian doctors are abroad.

An even more powerful motive for emigrating is political terror. There is no longer a curfew in the capital or TTM roadblocks at strategic points, but police still arrest and torture citizens who are even faintly suspected of political heresy. Haitians used to be garrulous with strangers; now they are cautious.

The *Coalition Haitienne*, an organization of Haitian exiles in New York, claims to have an effective resistance movement at home, but in Haiti, people who should know claim this is nonsense. The active opposition, they say, is in exile, in jail or under subsoil. Terror has cowed most people. Perhaps a majority harbor subversive thoughts, but so far, they are afraid to translate them into action. Although Port au Prince before Duvalier was hardly the model of a modern, well-run and prosperous city, it possessed a bougainvillea and hibiscus charm of its own. Now after 10 years of neglect, it is ugly and dilapidated. The only conspicuous new public building is the police barracks near the palace. Even the dictator's propaganda effects are ailing. An electric sign in a park proclaiming, *"Je suis la drapeau Haitien, Uni et Indivisible. François Duvalier,"* leans to one side and no longer blinks out its message. Most hotels are empty and some are closed. The Riviera, the country's biggest, went broke two years ago. TTMs promptly carted off its air-conditioning units and other valuable fixtures.

The roofs of Port au Prince are a sea of rusting tin. The streets are potholed and buildings are covered with dust and grime. Paint has flaked off or faded away eons ago. Tourist shops like *La Belle Creole* and *Carlos*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are deserted. A tourist unwise enough to take a stroll downtown will quickly be surrounded by whining, deformed beggars and a bevy of poor devils offering their unwanted services as guides, pimps or porters.

Haitian beaches, mountain resorts and countryside are beautiful, but they are nearly inaccessible because of the terrible condition of the roads, which ranges in quality from poor to incredible. Only the jeeps of the *Tonton Macoutes* and the peasants' sure-footed *bouriques* can negotiate them successfully. Haiti's green license plates carry a blurb in white letters: "*Perle des Antilles.*" But after 10 years of Duvalier, the boast on the license plate is a bitter joke.

HARVEY ROSENHOUSE

MR. ROSENHOUSE *is an editor of* Vision Magazine.

What Can the Young Believe?

More and more of our children are almost unreachable by the familiar premises and arguments of our adult world. The first task of concerned people is not to castigate or deplore – it is to search out the reason for disillusionment and alienation, the rationale of protest and dissent – perhaps, indeed, to learn from it. What are they dissenting from – and what do they tell us about ourselves?

They begin, of course, with the war in Vietnam. We are not talking about all our young people; after all, Vietnam is a young man's war. The men who fight and die there, with bravery and endurance equal to any in our history, are young. There are others, as I have seen on many campuses, who are in favor of escalation – though many who favor escalation also favor continuation of the student deferment, their seeming slogan: "Escalation without Participation." But when a hundred student body presidents and editors of college newspapers; hundreds of former Peace Corps volunteers; dozens of present Rhodes scholars question the basic premises of the war, they should not and cannot be ignored.

These students oppose the war for the brutality and the horror of all wars, and for the particular terror of this one. But for our young people, I suspect, Vietnam is a shock as it cannot be to us. They did not know World War II, or even Korea. And this is a war surrounded by rhetoric they do not understand or accept; these are the children not of the cold war, but of the thaw. Their memories of communism are not of Stalin's purges and death camps, not even the terrible revelations of the Twentieth Party Congress, or the streets of Hungary. They see the world as one in which communist states can be each others' deadliest enemies or even friends of the West, in which communism is certainly no better, but perhaps no worse, than many other evil and repressive dictatorships all around the world – with which we conclude alliances when that is felt to be in our interest.

Even as the declared foreign policy of our government is to "build bridges" to this new communist world, they see us, in the name of anti-communism, devastating the land of those we call our friends. However the war may seem to us, they see it as one in which the largest and most powerful nation on earth is killing children (they do not care if accidentally) in a remote and insignificant land. We speak of past commitments, of the burden of past mistakes; and they ask why they should now atone for mistakes made before many of them were born, before almost any could vote. They see us spend billions on armaments while poverty and ignorance continue at home; they see us willing to fight a war for freedom in Vietnam, but unwilling to fight with one-hundredth the money or force or effort to secure freedom in Mississippi or Alabama or the ghettos of the North. And they see, perhaps most disturbing of all, that they are remote from the decisions of policy; that they themselves frequently do not, by the nature of our political system, share in the power of choice on great questions shaping their lives.

It would be tempting – but it would be wrong and self-deluding – to trace to the war all the problems of our disaffected youth. Nor can this problem be traced to any individual, or to any Administration, or to a political party; the challenge is deeper and broader.

Consider for example our economy: the wondrous production machine which has made us richer, as we count, than any people in history, within which we all find sustenance and support. It is a business economy – which is to say, that most Americans are engaged in some form of business. Yet in a survey last year, only 12 percent of all graduating college seniors hoped for a career in business, or thought such a career would be worthwhile and satisfying.

Why? Part of the answer is that the great corporations which are so large a part of American life, play so small a role in the solution of its vital problems. Civil rights, poverty, unemployment, health, education – these are but a few of the deep crises in which business participation, with a few important exceptions, has been far less than might be expected from such an important part of the society. We can recognize, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

applaud, the work of the NAM in job training, or the work of foundations like Ford and Rockefeller, or the efforts of individuals like Paul Hoffman or Thomas Watson, or corporations like Smith, Kline and French. But certainly business as a whole has not sought out the challenges of the nation's frontier. Of course, it may well be argued that the business of business is to make a profit, that to attempt more is to do less than its stockholders deserve. But does such an argument have relevance, ask the young, when a single company, like General Motors or IT&T, has annual profits greater than the gross national product of any one of 70 nations in the world?

Nor – painful as it may be for liberals to acknowledge – are these young people enchanted with liberal institutions. Labor has been in the forefront of many a great battle. But youth looks with other eyes, and their view is very different: They think of labor as grown sleek and bureaucratic with power, sometimes frankly discriminatory, occasionally even corrupt and exploitative; a force not for change but for the status quo, unwilling or unable to organize new groups of members, indifferent to the men who once worked the coal mines of Appalachia, a late-comer to the struggles of the grape pickers of California or the farm laborers of the Mississippi Delta. This is a one-sided picture, without the dimensions of 50 years' struggle, and the undramatic yet vital work of labor in many parts of the nation today. But there is too much truth in it for us not to understand our children's view – or to ignore the need for change.

We are friends of education, especially of universities; our friends and allies teach there, they are a major force in the liberal community. But listen: "Education [is] by its very nature an individual matter . . . not geared to mass production. It does not produce people who instinctively go the same way. . . . [Yet] our millions learn the same lessons and spend hours before television sets looking at exactly the same thing at exactly the same time. For one reason and another we are more and more ignoring differences, if not trying to obliterate them. We seem headed toward a standardization of the mind, what Goethe called 'The deadly commonplace that fetters us all'." That might well have been, but it was not, a speaker at a Berkeley rally; it was Edith Hamilton, one of our greatest classicists.

And now listen to a student representative, speaking to a meeting of the Board of Regents of the University of California: "We have asked to be heard. You have refused. We have asked for justice. You have called it anarchy. We have asked for freedom. You have called it license. Rather than face the fear and hopelessness you have created, you have called it communistic. You have accused us of failing to use legitimate channels. But you have closed those channels to us. You, and not us, have built a university based on distrust and dishonesty."

It is impossible to mistake the anguish of that voice. There may be many things in that cry, but one of them is surely a protest of individuality – against the university as corporate bureaucracy, against the dull sameness Miss Hamilton saw also – for in bureaucracy and sameness is the denial of individuality, and the denial that human beings matter; if all are the same, why listen to what anyone says? And if we are not prepared to listen, then men cannot be recognized as more than numbers in statistical collections, a part of the gross national product like so many coffee cups or carpet sweepers.

The nonrecognition of individuality – the sense that no one is listening – is even more pronounced in our politics. Television, newspapers, magazines, are a cascade of words, official statements, policies, explanations and declarations; all flow from the height of government, down to the passive citizen; the young must feel, in their efforts to speak back, like solitary salmon trying to breast Grand Coulee Dam. The words which submerge us, all too often, speak the language of a day irrelevant to our young. And the language of politics is too often insincerity. And if we add to the insincerity, and the absence of dialogue, the absurdity of a politics in which a Byron de la Beckwith can declare as a candidate for lieutenant governor of Mississippi, we can understand why so many of our young people have turned from engagement to disengagement.

It is not enough to understand, or to see clearly. Whatever their differences with us, whatever the depth of their dissent, it is vital – for us as much as for them – that our young feel that change is possible; that they will be heard; that the cruelties and follies and injustices of the world will yield, however grudgingly, to the sweat and sacrifice they are so ready to give. If we cannot help open to them this sense of possibility, we will have only ourselves to blame for the disillusionment that will surely come. And more than disillusionment, danger; for we rely on these young people more than we know: not just in the Peace Corps, though the Peace Corps has done more for our position around the world than all our armed forces and foreign aid; not just in civil rights, though our youth have done more toward a solution of that problem than all the power and panoply of government; we rely on our youth for all our hopes of a better future – and thus, in a real and direct sense, for the very meaning of our own lives.

ROBERT F. KENNEDY

The remarks of the Junior Senator from New York, published here in part, were made at an ADA dinner in Philadelphia, February 24.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$30 Billion for Whom?

Politics, Profits and the Anti-Missile Missile

by Frederic W. Collins

The Secretary of Defense thinks it would be foolish to spend billions on an anti-ballistic missile defense (ABM), and President Johnson said on February 17 that it would be "another costly and futile escalation of the arms race." But pressures for the contrary view are strong and getting stronger, and their source is not just the Joint Chiefs. We should all be grateful to Arthur Wiesenberger and Co., which on February 4, 1967, published in the financial section of *The New York Times* this revealing advertisement:

Nike-X:

$30 Billion for Whom?

If the US deploys its Nike-X defense, $30 billion could flow into certain electronics, missile and computer companies. The impact would be enormous.

About $2.4 billion has already been spent on Nike-X development. Some companies are benefiting from this spending now, are likely to continue benefiting even if the program remains in the R&D stage, and could profit handsomely if a full-scale program is approved. Among the companies involved:

Aerojet	GCA	Martin Marietta
AT&T	General Dynamics	Melpar
Ampex	General Electric	Microwave Associates
Avco	General Telephone	Northrop
Brown	Hercules	Radiation Inc.
Burroughs	IT&T	Raytheon
Control Data	Kaman Aircraft	Sperry Rand
Douglas	LTV	Thiokol
Ford	Lockheed	Varian
		Westinghouse

Nine of these stocks have been selected for analysis in a 24-page special issue of the Wiesenberger Investment Report (WIR). The issue assesses each of the nine companies for its investment value apart from Nike-X, for its prospects as a Nike-X beneficiary, and for the relative leverage Nike-X might provide.

This special issue is yours for just $5 – or *as a bonus* with a low-cost trial subscription to WIR. We offer it as evidence that WIR is a service you should be reading regularly – as do many bankers, brokers and fund managers who invest billions of dollars of other people's money. You need only mail the coupon.

There is an interesting and deeply educational exercise which can be carried out with that list as a basis. The first step is to check out the plant locations of the companies. The resulting sketch map of their production geography can then be developed into a map of their political potential in specific detail.

License was taken to permit two amendments of the published list. I consider McDonnell Aircraft to be implicit in the list because of its kinship of interest with Douglas. AT&T was put aside because to have included it would have smothered all the other details. Through its connection with Western Electric, prime contractor, it ties into what the Pentagon says are "several thousand firms in nearly every state in the Union" sharing contract awards as subcontractors and vendors.

Those amendments noted, the companies on the list have, among them, more than 300 plants, and at a conservative estimate, at least one million employees. These plants are spread through 42 states, plus the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico. The only states not included are Alaska, Maine, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, North Dakota, South Dakota and Vermont. Plant locations can be correlated with individual congressional districts. The districts count up to 172.

From this analysis it is fair to derive the statement that these companies might feel justified in asking the sympathetic attention of 84 out of 100 members of the United States Senate and 172 out of 435 members of the House of Representatives.

There is necessarily a certain amount of impressionism in this political map-making. In large cities like Los Angeles, or Chicago, or New York, congressional district lines wriggle around telephone poles and manhole covers in such a way that precise correlation with plant locations is more trouble than that particular part of the task is worth. In such cases, doubt has been resolved by tagging fewer rather than additional districts; the total is thus on the low rather than the high side.

Too, not every plant of every company can be supposed to be engaged in work connected with ABM. A Hercules plant making chemicals for sewage treatment has less direct interest in intercepting missiles than a Hercules plant making rocket propellant, and so on with Thiokol, Raytheon and the rest. However, the principle is invoked that what's good for General

---

FREDERIC W. COLLINS, *Washington correspondent for 25 years, is a columnist for the Ridder newspapers.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Motors is good for General Motors in each and all of its many mansions, and vice versa.

The advertised list is beyond question a description of a concentration of political power on a scale difficult to grasp, and despite its magnitude, normally unobserved because it so rarely resolves itself into a single, unified, coherent entity easily visible to the naked eye of the general public.

A Variety of Political Patterns

Once extracted, the basic elements can be arranged and rearranged in a fascinating variety of political patterns. Sperry Rand, for example, can say with justifiable pride that it occupies 90 plants in 22 states. Even leaving out the electric shaver and farm equipment divisions, Sperry Rand counts plants in 19 states (38 senators) and 32 congressional districts (32 representatives). General Telephone & Electronics claims 45 manufacturing plants in 13 states in a 1965 report.

California has the greatest number of plants derivable from the advertised list, at least 55, in at least 25 congressional districts. The heroic figure there seems to be Representative Glenard P. Lipscomb of the 24th district, with six plants of five companies: Two Aerojet Generals, Burroughs, McDonnell, McDonnell-Hycon, General Dynamics. Perhaps this high concentration of interested parties has no influence on Mr. Lipscomb's judgment. At any rate, he told his constituents in his January 30 newsletter that, "The Soviets have continued their development of long-range missile capabilities and missile defenses. They have in fact begun to deploy certain anti-missile defenses. In my opinion, the threat from world communism is not eased and it is of utmost importance that we maintain a decisive superiority in both offensive and defensive weapons." Right behind Mr. Lipscomb are three men with five plants: Charles E. Wiggins in the 25th (three Aerojet Generals, McDonnell-Hycon, Hercules); Alphonzo Bell in the 28th (Douglas, Lockheed, two Northrops and a Sperry Rand; Mr. Bell is soliciting the opinion of his constituents in the matter); and Charles S. Gubser in the 10th, with two Lockheeds, a Westinghouse, a Varian, and a Raytheon.

The king of them all seems to be Representative F. Bradford Morse of the Massachusetts fifth district, with nine plants (although only four companies) from the advertised list: three Avcos, two GCAs, three Raytheons and an LTV-Ling-Altec Inc. This is in some ways encouraging. Morse, who has been silent so far on the ABM controversy, is counted among the really good men in the House; his qualities provide some evidence that the political system may have a tensile strength not hopelessly inadequate to the stresses generated by the rise of the military-industrial complex.

It is significant that among the companies listed, a great many are quite new. Some are coeval with the space age; others were little more than corporate husks until they gained weight from the nourishments of aerospace spending. This Jack-and-the-Beanstalk attribute of sudden growth prompts reminder that until Dwight Eisenhower's Presidency there did not exist (a point he himself made) "this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry" against which he warned in his valedictory of January 17, 1961. Rereading that passage gives further reminder that to relate the political power of the military-industrial complex only to Congress is to tell only part of the story. "The total influence," he said, ". . . economic, political, even spiritual . . . is felt in every city, every state house, every office of the federal government."

So, on a President's say-so, and with our list, we can conceive of some community of interest between those companies and 42 governors, and the officials of 257 towns and cities – mayors, city and town managers, city and town councils – and heaven knows how many members of state legislatures. In California, there are 46 cities and towns whose local interests are intertwined with the interests of firms on the list; in Massachusetts, 22; in New York, 20; in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, 16; in Connecticut, 13; in Michigan and Virginia, 12.

The political relationship is not, of course, one with the officeholders on one side and lonely, friendless companies on the other. This is a situation, for instance, in which labor unions find alliance with management natural. Pounding on political doors to keep the government business coming is a skill the unions mastered in the ancient days when government arsenals turned out the weaponry and there was no third party, private industry, involved. For the sake of the cause, also, the support of citizens who pay the bills is sought – if conscripted is not the word – by all the arts of public relations. (It may be noted that at least two of the companies on the list, Avco and Westinghouse, include broadcasting among their connections, and ITT's passionate yearning for the American Broadcasting Co. is front-page news.) Not to be forgotten are the advertising battles in which contractors seek to prove that their particular line of miracles surpasses all others. This activity is always on the threshold of scandalizing the public, and our friends in the Nike-X community have just been told by the Pentagon to knock it off until policies and appropriations have been thrashed out.

And to the roster of friends of an anti-ballistic missile defense there can also be added the shareholders – investors and speculators – in numbers untold.

Finally, in a game this big, there is a tremendous

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ploy available to industry, thanks to the Pentagon. In this case it occurs as a list of the cities to be protected. There are two lists: one of 25 cities to be favored if a "thin" defense is decided upon, another of 25 more cities to be included if a "thick" defense is undertaken. This kind of name-dropping by the Pentagon generates a fierce determination on the part of other cities to be included, with a commensurate expansion of the political pressure in behalf of an "adequate" anti-ballistic missile.

The conventions of fair discussion in this country require that parties of interest be credited with an overriding concern for the national welfare. But the vision of $30 billion must disorient even the noblest entrepreneur. His only hope of keeping himself whole lies in rationalizing a compatibility between the national safety and entrepreneurial interest. Where he has worked this out he is in shape to answer that big question: $30 billion for whom?

To ponder the meaning of the ad is to marvel again at the prescience of Mr. Eisenhower: "Only an alert and knowledgeable citizenry can compel the proper meshing of the huge industrial and military machinery of defense with our peaceful methods and goals, so that security and liberty may prosper together." On January 17, 1961, the wildest dream would not have pictured a serious effort in 1967 to obtain by peaceful methods the peaceful goal of reciprocal US-Soviet self-denial in anti-missile deployment. Realistically, the firms on the advertised list cannot be expected to do other than pin their hopes on hardware rather than diplomacy. The golden prize has been put on display in the Treasury window with that teasing legend: $30 billion for whom?

In the good old days it used to be said, "The tariff is a local issue." Now, in 42 states, 172 congressional districts, and 257 communities – before we even add the Pentagon's "several thousand firms in nearly every state in the Union," and late entries from the Pentagon's thick and thin lists – it may be said that "Nike-X is a local issue." Whether that many local pressures, skillfully marshaled by professionals in the task, can override a President and a Secretary of Defense is the current cliff-hanger.

The Goal of Full Unemployment

by Robert Theobald

There is widespread confusion about the reasoning which lies behind the proposal for a guaranteed income, and many of the studies now being published threaten to perpetuate, and even deepen, the causes of misunderstanding. The confusion results from the rapidly changing reactions toward the idea since it was first detailed by me in my 1963 book *Free Men and Free Markets*. I described this evolution in the preface to the 1965 paperback edition: "The bulk of the criticism in early 1963 evaluated *Free Men and Free Markets*, title notwithstanding, as an extreme left-wing text. By mid-1963, it was increasingly considered a modern restatement of New Dealer philosophy. By early 1964, following the publication of *The Triple Revolution* and the consequent association of my name with the 33 other signers of the document who together comprised the Ad Hoc Committee, the book was rather generally evaluated as 1964 liberalism. Finally, after mid-1964, the analysis and indeed the proposals are being characterized with increasing frequency as conservative and even reactionary."

This evolution has continued during the last two years. Thus an idea which was first rejected by almost all commentators as too extreme to be worthy of practical consideration is today being rejected by many of those who are most convinced of the need for a new socioeconomic order on the grounds that it promises no fundamental change in the present socioeconomy.

What brought about this dramatic shift in opinions? Certainly the most striking factor has been the acceptance of direct payments to the poor by Professor Milton Friedman, Senator Goldwater's economic adviser in the 1964 campaign. It has been increasingly argued that if Milton Friedman is in favor of the measure, all those concerned with the welfare of the individual should automatically reject the idea. Such

---

Robert Theobald *has written numerous books and articles on economic subjects. This article is adapted from* The Guaranteed Income *by Robert Theobald.* *Copyright © 1967 by Doubleday & Company, Inc. Published by Doubleday & Company, Inc.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ad hominem arguments should, of course, have no place in the debate.

It is therefore essential that the areas of agreement and disagreement among those supporting direct payments to the poor should be sharply differentiated. The first area of agreement is that the initial step on the way to eliminate poverty is to supply money rather than moral uplift, cultural refinements, extended education, retraining programs or makework jobs. In addition, it is agreed that the prime criterion for the distribution of funds should be the poverty of the individual rather than whether Congress is willing to pass special legislation supporting him: it is agreed, as a corollary, that many programs such as those in agriculture which were originally designed to help the poor have become methods of subsidizing the rich. There is another area of agreement which is crucial. It is seen as vital that funds should be provided as an absolute right – that the size of grants should be determined on the basis of objective criteria rather than on the whims and prejudices of the bureaucrat. An absolute guarantee of payment should be incorporated in the legislation setting up direct payments to the poor.

Certain people have tried to undermine this last key element of the guaranteed income proposal. They have stated that we should introduce the idea of direct payments to the poor but that the availability of payments should be based on a bureaucratic determination of the eligibility of the individual for such payments. Such an elimination of the guarantee destroys the crucial element in the proposal and would threaten ever greater intervention in the personal life of the individual.

The recognition of the need to provide *guaranteed direct* payments to the poor on the basis of their *existing income levels* must necessarily be shared by all the proponents of a guaranteed income. Their motivations for suggesting such a scheme may, however, be very different: this can be most clearly seen by contrasting the approach of Milton Friedman with my own. Professor Friedman sees the fundamental economic problem as resulting from increasing government intervention in the economic system. He finds this development deeply disturbing for he believes that the economic system can only be expected to work efficiently if each individual is free to seek his own economic advantage. Perceiving as he does that much of the increase in government intervention in the economy results from the fact that it is impossible for the rulers of a modern state to allow any group of citizens to starve, Professor Friedman believes that we should devise measures which would ensure a minimum income for all and thus eliminate the major present cause of government intervention in the economy. It is essential, in his view, that the level of income not be set so high that it would detract from the incentive to work. While he has not proposed a precise level for grants, his illustrations have been couched in terms of an income floor of $1,600 for a family of four.

COMING: *Leon Keyserling on a guaranteed income and revenue sharing with the states*

Differences with Friedman

Professor Friedman hopes that once such an allowance is available, society would not only cease to demand the introduction of further measures of government intervention but would acquiesce in the dismantling of the vast majority of the measures already in existence which were passed to help those less able to help themselves. He anticipates that as government measures are rescinded, and what he sees as the barriers to "self-help" are removed, the country would benefit from an access of the drives which made the nineteenth century so successful. The proposal of Professor Friedman can therefore be explained by his belief that we should re-create the conditions in which the individual can strive to maximize his economic satisfaction with the greatest degree of freedom and the minimum outside intervention.

While I agree with Professor Friedman that one of the main threats to the survival of freedom is the rapidly growing intervention of government bureaucracies in individual lives, my object in providing the individual with a guaranteed income is not to move back to unrestricted economic competition but rather to move forward into a new societal order. In my view, therefore, the guaranteed income must provide a standard of living adequate for decency – I believe that we should start with a minimum income of $3,200 for a family of four and provide for an annual increase of at least five percent. In addition, we must accept the certainty of a number of other changes in the distribution of resources. The first of these will be measures to protect those in the middle-income groups who lose their jobs as a consequence of cybernation.

For me, therefore, the guaranteed income represents the possibility of putting into effect the fundamental

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

philosophic belief which has recurred consistently in human history – that each individual has a right to a minimal share in the production of his society. The perennial shortage of almost all the necessities of life prevented the application of this belief until recent years: the coming of relative abundance in the rich countries gives man the power to achieve the goal of providing a minimum standard of living for all.

It is not enough, however, to state that it is *possible* for the society to provide a minimal standard of living for all; it is *essential* to do so. The present late-industrial age is burdened with problems arising from mismatch between the needs of the human society and the pressures exerted by an economic production, distribution and consumption system so complex and interrelated as to need the whole of the national culture to be organized around it. While we allow this process to continue, the economic system will increasingly become a parasite on the total environment, depriving the men who create it of their psychological and social sustenance and, in return, only providing them with economic gains.

The current late-industrial system, whether factory or farm, no longer needs many of the workers whose undereducation previously served it. The truth of this statement is now being dramatically demonstrated. We now know that the economic tools developed by John Maynard Keynes make it possible for any society to keep demand growing as rapidly as available supply. It should be added, however, that the historical record still suggests that America may only be willing to pass the necessary measures to ensure a balance between supply and demand in times of war. The degree of aggressiveness which will be required in coming years to preserve such a balance is much greater than in the past. Potential supply can rise this and every year by 5-5½ percent: this must be balanced by increases in demand of 5-5½ percent if recessions and slumps are to be avoided.

Recent developments have confirmed the theoretical judgment of Professor Charles Killingsworth of Michigan State University that even when the government is successful in balancing potential demand with available supply, it will still be impossible to employ all those with low skills and inadequate education. This view has so far been rejected by the Administration and most economists on the ground that the pace of improvement in educational accomplishments will counterbalance the increase in the efficiency of machines, and that special education and retraining programs will be adequate to deal with the relatively few people who require further help.

But this forecast underestimates both the growing impact of advanced machinery and the results of continuing increases in the amount and coverage of the minimum wage. Despite the obvious social desirability of better minimum wage provisions, the evidence becomes ever clearer that increases in the minimum wage decrease the attractiveness of marginal employees. A special census report of the South Los Angeles area following the rioting in Watts in 1965 showed that during the boom period of 1960-65, conditions in South Los Angeles were no better than static and that some key indicators actually showed declines. For example, the male unemployment rate for South Los Angeles was 11.3 percent in 1960 and 10.1 percent in 1965: nationally the unemployment rate for nonwhite males dropped from 12 to 6 percent during the same period. Median family income in South Los Angeles actually declined during a period in which the typical American family's income rose substantially.

The August 1966 data on the labor force show clearly that even substantial movements toward full employment are no longer effective in drawing all of the labor force into employment and that it is the disadvantaged who suffer most severely. While overall unemployment dropped from 4.6 percent in the May-August 1965 period to 4 percent in the May-August 1966 period, the unemployment rates for unskilled nonfarm workers only dropped from 7.8 to 7.6 percent, while the unemployment rate for Negro teen-agers remained constant at 27 percent.

A severe problem of unemployability appears to be emerging. Certain types of workers have insufficient inherent capacities to be worth employing at any job for the socially determined wage rate. In these circumstances, employers can be expected to claim that there is a severe shortage of workers even at times when large numbers of people assert that they cannot find jobs.

The Obedient Consumer

The available statistics understate the social crisis which is now upon us, for many other workers theoretically "at work" in "jobs" perform little activity and none that gives meaning to their lives. Others still cling to the self-respect and societal esteem attached to their middle-income "skilled" or "management" job, but know that a machine system or computer will shortly be ready to replace them. New tasks and new, more complex processes which would never be accomplished by man are being assigned to the new, manless technology. In many areas man, the master, is less than technology, his servant. Conversely, we are witnessing a downgrading of human creativity as compared with the innovative potential of machine systems. Somehow, in any given area where man and machine compete, the output of the computer is more "authoritative," more "correct" than man's. So man's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

role is rapidly becoming that of obedient consumer, prompt obeyer of punch-card demands, apathetic observer of environmental abuse and human degradation, of water pollution, lethal air, the continuing waste of natural resources, the aimless misery of the unemployed and the underpaid, the neurotic defense mechanisms of the occupationally threatened middle class.

Man's structuring into the economic necessities of the present age cannot be reversed without the guaranteed income which aims to provide rights to resources adequate for the dignified life. Today's socioeconomic system uses a very simple mechanism for distributing resources: it assumes that the overwhelming proportion of those seeking jobs can find them and that the incomes received will allow the jobholder to live in dignity. Such a distribution mechanism requires that enough effective demand exists to take up all the goods and services that can be produced by all the capital and labor that can be effectively used.

Incentives to Work

Keynes has shown why this chain must be preserved if the industrial socioeconomy is to function, and economists have therefore come to concentrate on the necessity of balancing supply and demand and thus ensuring the availability of sufficient jobs. This has been generally acceptable because it has been believed that more consumption led to higher standards of living: that "enough" is $1,000 more than present income. Recent experimentation, however, has confirmed the significance of the problem of sensory overload: that is, of an inability to absorb more than a certain amount of experience in a given time. This can be illustrated on one level by the new anesthesia technique, used particularly in dentistry, of providing earphones to the patients and then raising the level of sound to the point at which pain ceases to be felt. A similar phenomenon occurs during world tours: it becomes impossible to absorb more sights and sounds. The implications of this understanding of sensory overload are critical because there is increasingly general agreement that creativity depends upon a period of low sensory activity; in other words, upon an opportunity to reflect. As individuals come to realize the reality of sensory overload, they can be expected voluntarily to restrict their input of sensory perceptions; this will inevitably force limits on purchases and on travel.

In addition, society will be forced to limit waste by changing its patterns of rewards and sanctions. Arguments on this subject cannot be based, in my opinion, on an assumed shortage of raw materials, for man's ability to produce new materials through physics and chemistry could grow at least as fast as his need for materials. Rather the need for limiting waste – whether caused by exaggerated rates of obsolescence, the development of a throwaway culture, the acceptance of polluting by-products or other reasons – will be based on our growing knowledge of ecology; on the necessity to limit the degree of change in the environment if man is to survive.

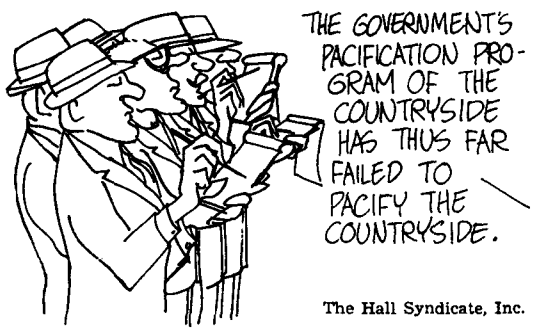
The guaranteed income is therefore essential for both short-run and long-run reasons. In the short run, it is required because an ever-growing number of people – blue-collar, white-collar, middle-management and professional – cannot compete with machines. In the absence of the guaranteed income the number of people in hopeless, extreme poverty will increase. In the long run, we will require a justification for the distribution of resources which is not based on jobholding, because this is the only way we can break the present necessity to ensure that supply and demand remain in balance – a necessity which is incompatible with continued development of the individual and continued survival of the world.

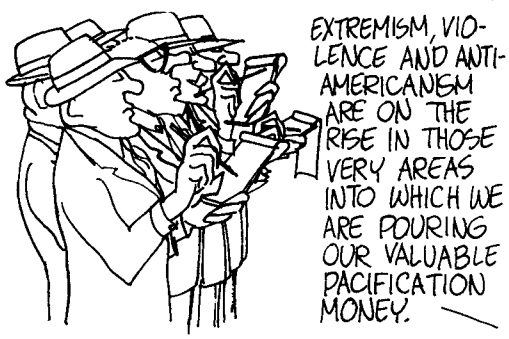
Both of these justifications are commonly attacked on the grounds that any adequate guaranteed-income scheme would limit incentives. However, the historical and anthropological record makes it clear that economic motivation is not the only way to get people to work – indeed there is considerable evidence that it is not necessarily the most effective way. The inevitable increase in wealth over the next decades will itself largely destroy the financial incentive. If average family income (in 1966 prices) is of the order of $28,000 by the year 2000 as seems probable, most people will be motivated less by the possibility of increasing their income and more by other potentials. Indeed, this pattern is already emerging in the upper-income brackets.

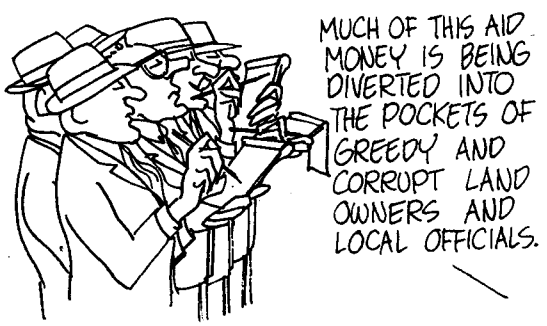
Professor Friedman emphasizes the need to study the type of tax system which could be used to introduce direct payments to the poor but leads one essentially to ignore the long-run potentials of such a step for the socioeconomy. This consequence is inevitable for Professor Friedman has assumed that the guaranteed income is being introduced to preserve, and strengthen, the industrial age socioeconomy. It therefore appears irrelevant to examine what changes the guaranteed income would cause. While my approach certainly leads to a recognition of the need for studies about the appropriate tax system, it also results in a concentration on the long-run impact of the guaranteed income, for it involves a belief that the necessary evolution and the desirable goal for the American socioeconomy is *full unemployment rather than full employment* – a socioeconomy where choices are made on the basis of individual values rather than on constrained obedience. In this context the guaranteed income becomes the initial point of leverage in changing from the industrial age to the cybernetic era.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

JULES FEIFFER


THE GOVERNMENT'S PACIFICATION PROGRAM OF THE COUNTRYSIDE HAS THUS FAR FAILED TO PACIFY THE COUNTRYSIDE.
The Hall Syndicate, Inc.


EXTREMISM, VIOLENCE AND ANTI-AMERICANISM ARE ON THE RISE IN THOSE VERY AREAS INTO WHICH WE ARE POURING OUR VALUABLE PACIFICATION MONEY.



SO THAT ONCE OUR SUPERVISORY PERSONNEL ARE TRANSFERRED OUT OF A PACIFIED AREA WE ARE OFTEN UNABLE TO RETAIN CONTROL OVER ITS LOYALTY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STANLEY KAUFFMANN *Haunted and Haunting*

Amos Elon is an Israeli journalist who was commissioned by a German publisher to write a book about Germany today. He made two trips through Germany – West and East – in 1965, and the result* only adds to our confusion. Which is to say that the book is intelligent, probing, generally well-balanced – and therefore only perplexes us further about its subject. Any book that "clarified" contemporary Germany, that arrived at even the minimal rationale one can find in some other countries, would by that fact be suspect.

This is not a scholarly study of post-war Germany, with political, social, and economic analysis. (For such a work – a valuable one – see *The Adenauer Era* by Richard Hiscocks, published last fall by Lippincott.) Here we have the organized travel notes of a competent reporter.

More perhaps than with any other country, a book about modern Germany is related closely to the person of the writer. If objectivity is always a delusion, this is tenfold the case in regard to Germany. There are two matters that a visit to Germany brings out strongly in a visitor, like a dye-stain in a chemistry lab: his age (which generation he belongs to) and his Jewishness (if he is Jewish. Jewish by any definition, but fundamentally by Sartre's: "The Jew is one whom other men consider a Jew."). Elon is 40, thus old enough to remember the war on a day-to-day basis, not as a lump of history; and he is an Israeli.

Another factor enters into such a book: the continuing pressure on Germany for its opinions, for its pulse. Many of those Germans who are likely to be interviewed – intellectuals, artists, politicians, educators – have been questioned so often that they have their answers ready, like film personalities who are used to the press. (For example, considering the brevity of my visit this January, I met a surprising number of the people to whom Elon spoke.) This by no means makes their answers necessarily false, but it does mean that the visitor tends to encounter opinions that have been restated often and easily for convenience's sake, that are reexamined only when the subject – who is not lying – begins to hear the sound of his own voice and, in conscience, asks himself: "Am I just talking? Do I still believe exactly that?" Thus it is not deception that one is likely to meet but the unspontaneous, well-turned response.

Given these conditions and difficulties, Elon's book seems generally fair without stupidly trying to be clinically impartial. He is intent on learning, rather than on substantiating preconceptions. Only his first chapter could have been omitted. It is largely a restatement of some concentration-camp data, intended as a backdrop against which to view the rest, but no one who would read this book needs the refresher.

Elon confronts us early with a fact that puts in generational perspective any inquiry into the present moral temper of Germany: 48 percent of West Germans were born after Hitler came to power. If you add those who were no more than 15 years old in 1933, the total is 64 percent of the population, "neither responsible for Hitler's victories nor, in most cases, for his crimes." Inevitably, then, questions of responsibility and guilt become, in large proportion, questions of education and of willingness to shoulder the guilt of one's elders and nation.

As to the first, Elon quotes at length from a number of textbooks used in the public schools which show deft compression and obliqueness in their comment on the Nazi era. It is probably unrealistic to expect German teachers to dwell heavily on the subject of German misdeeds, but these excerpts are gems of legerdemain. As for the second matter, Elon reports substantially the same cross-section of young people's attitudes that, on a smaller scale, I encountered. The spectrum is heavily shaded with non-concern, with concentration on the young person's problems in getting an education and a career, with a reluctance toward political involvement because of memories of what involvement meant. There is a small percentage genuinely and hotly concerned with political activity (but some of these, I found, are resentful of American "reeducation" after the war as a form of intellectual castration). There is a tiny percentage who feel the way that I think that *we* think they ought to feel: penitent, bitter about the past, anxious to purge and reestablish Germany morally.

These proportions are probably inevitable in any new generation, no matter how monstrous its elders' actions may have been. But of course it is the older generation that runs things, in politics and elsewhere. It is ridiculous to go to Germany and not expect to meet former Nazis in government and industry. One must therefore develop standards more subtle than Nazi or non-Nazi. (For example, Chancellor Kiesinger, who was a party member for 12 years, is considered by many a much happier choice for the post than the powerful Franz Josef Strauss, who was never a Nazi member.) Nevertheless Elon notes a number of formerly zealous Nazis who are still active as professors and politicos. He is not interested in punishment but in the future.

As for general states of mind in the older generation, Elon writes:

> "Some sociologists emphasize the bourgeois revolution that erupted under the Allied occupation of Germany, giving control over the land – for the first time in history – to the middle classes. Psychologists see a psychic reaction to the catastrophe of the past in the widespread desire

(Continued on page 37)

**Journey through a Haunted Land: The New Germany* by Amos Elon. Translated by Michael Roloff (Holt, Rinehart & Winston; $6.50).

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vaguely second-rate talent – when, in historical fact, the case was precisely the contrary.

There is, evidently, a tendency when one strings together 89 more or less four-page pieces all written on Sunday to be printed on Monday and published on Wednesday, to flatten out a record. Certain perspectives become difficult, certain emphases impossible. And the truth is that Mr. Cowley's critical opinions, when stretched out in a row, don't create any strong sense of individual taste or exceptional insight. Politically, as esthetically, the passive mood prevails. Whether by accident or design, Mr. Cowley tends to deal with medium-sized, medium-weight, middle-of-the-road books: with Silone, not Svevo or Kafka; with Hemingway's "work in progress" (*To Have and Have Not* is described in this phrase), never Joyce's; with Pearl Buck, not D. H. Lawrence; with John dos Passos and James T. Farrell, not with Wyndham Lewis' *Revenge for Love*, or Ezra Pound's *Cantos*, or William Empson's criticism, or Isaac Babel's stories, or the writings of Bert Brecht, or the poetry of Wallace Stevens.

Perhaps this is Piper's fault, or the fault anyhow of an editorial decision that it was more important to represent "the thirties" than Mr. Cowley. A good many palpable naïvetés, political as well as aesthetic, have thus been allowed to stand, or even, for all I know, been deliberately selected as "representative," for which Mr. Cowley in his 1967 manifestation would be inclined to squirm. "Think back on us" – on the thirties as they are starting to emerge now, after the first siftings of time, the first corrodings of new perspectives, or on the thirties as they were in their own conceit? The option, when one reprints verbatim contemporary journalism, seems clearly to be for the latter alternative. Yet even here there is blurring, confusion, and a major omission.

For in fact if the Marxist movement of the American thirties had any authenticity at all, it lay in a questioning of the impersonal, ahistorical voice, the specious good sense which conceals its real premises (material as well as spiritual) behind a camouflage of fairness, impartiality, and good will expressed as compromise. The attack on the liberal ethos was ungainly and extravagant in many ways; it often went hand in hand with hypocrisy and stupidity of various sorts; it was inherently self-destructive, and thus compromised *ab ovo* the dogmatism it pretended to serve. But the attack on the privileged voice was a distinctive quality of thought in the thirties, thought which is really to be understood only as an attempt to transcend bourgeois liberalism as it has existed since John Stuart Mill. And of this quality one will not find very much in Mr. Cowley's pages; it must be sought in Sam Sillen's *New Masses*, Jack Conroy's *New Anvil*, Dwight Macdonald's *Politics*, and a dozen other hairy magazines of the then-far-left. In other words, kiddies, don't think you've seen the full spectrum of the thirties when you've retrospected on it through this particular low-resolution lens. And if anyone tries to tell you that individual X or publication Y was "the intellectual conscience of the age," don't you believe it. There ain't no such animal. There never was.

Modern survivors of the thirties have two contrasting literary games to play, called *Do you remember?* and *When did you first hear of?* In the first category go those books that kicked up a fuss at the time and have since disappeared. Do you remember Robert Briffault's *Europa?* Do you remember Albert Halper's *Union Square*, Albert Maltz's *The Underground Stream?* Do you remember the poetry of Kenneth Fearing or the splendid name of Evelyn John St. Loe Strachey? Do you remember the *History of the C.P.S.U. (B.)*? On the other hand, when did you first hear of Henry Roth's *Call It Sleep?* When did you first hear of Christina Stead's *The Man Who Loved Children*, or Anna Seghers' *The Seventh Cross?* How long is it since you first read Christopher Caudwell's *Illusion and Reality* or the poetry of Hugh MacDiarmid? When was the first time you tried to read *A Grammar of Motives* or saw the historical work of the present Master of Balliol?

Games like these can very well organize themselves around the sunny assumption that it was pretty quaint of us to be deluded by books of the

China expert
A. Doak Barnett
interprets the current crisis
CHINA AFTER MAO

Princeton University Press
PRINCETON, N. J.

With Selected Documents
A. Doak Barnett

Here is a succinct, well-rounded interpretation for the nonspecialist. After a brief history of the first years of Communist China, Professor Barnett outlines the efforts now being made, in the face of declining revolutionary zeal, to sustain the revolution after Mao's passing. His insight into personalities and factions provides the information needed to interpret present and future headlines. Pertinent translated documents.

"Barnett's dispassionate judgments . . . deserve the thoughtful attention of the U.S. public."
—WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD, Princeton University

cloth, $6.00; paper, $1.95
At all bookstores

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

first class, and thank God we're now enlightened enough to be aware of all the books in the second class. But there is no privileged place in time, any more than in society. Literary fashion is largely a matter of one set of semi-organized delusions against another. Error is rarely even picturesque error, it's mostly naïve. This is one serious thing the class of '67 can learn by thinking back on the thirties – the vanity of human judgment. Among the political Puritans of that day, Mr. Malcolm Cowley had a blessed sense of civilization, and more opportunity for perspective than most. He was humane and judicious, informed and sensitive, far beyond the "average journalist"; he was as conscientious a commentator on his own age as one could possibly expect. Yet now, barely a quarter century later, how threadbare and ghostly much of his work appears!

As far as the present project is concerned, this isn't altogether Malcolm Cowley's fault. The truth is that Henry Dan Piper's rudimentary strategy, skimped efforts at perspective, and blurred intent, have placed a strain on Mr. Cowley's old journalism that's unfair and excessive. It seems to have been altogether too easy a book for the editor to assemble.

Hiroshima Plus Twenty-seven

by Selig S. Harrison

Reflecting on his conversations in Hiroshima twenty years after the Bomb, Rafael Steinberg makes the somewhat unexpected observation that it helps rather than hinders communication to be an outsider, even an American, "because talking to a foreigner can be almost like a soliloquy – it doesn't really count in the Japanese scheme of things."

Postscript from Hiroshima
by Rafael Steinberg
(Random House; $3.95)

Talking with Steinberg was hardly like talking to most foreigners. He is not only an experienced journalist and interviewer but a sensitive student of Japan who speaks fluent Japanese and knows how to employ "heavy applications of smiles and silences, patience and time." Yet he was, in the last analysis, still a foreigner, and he thus had the best of both worlds from a journalistic standpoint in developing his extremely effective profile of Hiroshima today.

This is a powerful book and yet remarkably free of polemics, sobs and moralizing. Steinberg stands quietly to the side and coaxes his subjects along as they tell their story directly and believably. He immediately disarms the reader who thinks he may already have had quite enough of Hiroshima by focusing not on August 6, 1945, but on what has been happening since in the physical and emotional reconstruction of a city.

Before the war, Hiroshima was an inward-looking "castle town" with its eyes on the feudal past, a snooty place where strangers felt ill at ease. Rebuilding the devastated city has meant an influx of 250,000 refugees who have brought with them the immigrant's hustle and a marked cosmopolitan flavor. To those who remember the placid old Hiroshima, the new city is *gasa-gasa*, a hectic confusion of crowded streets and money-mad people scrambling to get ahead. It is a confident industrial city where even the Park of Peace commemorating the Bomb has a carnival, beer-and-ice-cream atmosphere that shocks visiting American tourists expecting a graveyard quietude. For many a teen-ager in the Hiroshima of 1967, the rusting Atomic Dome looming over the Park "is merely part of the permanent furniture of his town, like cannons in the parks of small-town America."

Inside the Peace Memorial Museum, there are reminders of August Sixth in gnarled bicycles, shattered clocks, huge photographic montages of scarred survivors and wax dummies with department-store mannequin faces and gory wounds draped in scorched clothing found in the ruins. But Steinberg mentions these only in passing and goes very easy indeed in recreating macabre images. To the extent that he does so, it is when this comes naturally as part of personal case histories sketched at random from among the 170,000-odd survivors.

Manabu Nakai, a 33-year-old barkeep, has had plastic surgery but the left side of his face is unavoidably shiny and pink, with a few unnatural creases and a slightly protruding lower lip which tilts to the left as if he had a big cigar in the corner of his mouth. He has built his own business up from scratch since the war and takes pride in the city's rebirth. More than half a dozen times, Nakai has gone forth to the formal ceremonial meeting of bride and groom that goes with the Japanese ritual of an arranged marriage. Each time, when the parents of the bride saw him, they called it off, pleading that he might prove a bad health risk and leave their daughter a widow.

Toshio Kihara was a photoengraver's assistant and a jazz fan. He was hospitalized for leukemia when he was 19, but it was a well-kept secret when Toshio married Matsue in the fall of 1964. When the symptoms recurred and he died several months later, Matsue took an overdose of sleeping pills.

To hide her rough and darkened complexion, a plump schoolteacher named Tamae Nakatani wears lipstick, rouge and rakish harlequin spectacles. She recalls how "the skin just seemed to slip right off our hands" when she and three other classmates, the sole survivors out of a school of 350, staggered into an army depot after the blast. For years she hid in doorways whenever she heard the sound of a plane. Her legs were paralyzed during her early years, and her arms so scarred that she wore long sleeves until she decided last year that short sleeves would be her personal declara-

The Sunday Ramparts

A new weekly newspaper of national significance, published by Ramparts Magazine. For free sample copy, write Ramparts, 301 Broadway, San Francisco 94133

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHO WORRIES ABOUT BLACKOUTS?

Everyone who has lived through a power blackout does—as well as most people who fear they might have to.

And, of course, so do we. America's rural electrics worry about providing the best possible electric service to the millions of consumer-owners we serve out in the countryside. That means service free of blackouts.

But we have a problem.

The demand for electric power in our service areas is increasing by leaps and bounds and will continue to grow even faster in the years ahead. As a result, rural electric cooperatives and other consumer-owned systems will have to install new equipment, heavier lines and the other facilities necessary to keep ahead of the demand—to prevent blackouts.

Keeping ahead is expensive. Rural electrics will have to invest more than nine billion dollars during the next 15 years to stay ahead.

To help us obtain this needed capital, rural electrics have put forward a plan which will permit us to pool our collective credit. We're working to secure passage of necessary legislation by Congress.

This nation's needs for electric power will be met only if the entire industry plans today to avoid tomorrow's blackouts. That's why rural electrics are seeking means to solve our financial problems now . . . before we are forced to solve them by candlelight.

Yes, we worry about blackouts because we know that the worst one . . . is the next one.

Everybody benefits

AMERICA'S *Consumer-Owned* RURAL ELECTRIC SYSTEMS

For more information write National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, 2000 Florida Avenue N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of escape from trauma.

With meticulous care, Steinberg assesses conflicting estimates of the number of casualties and comes up with his own qualified judgment that nearly 200,000 must have died. He brings an equally cool precision to his discussion of the impact of the Bomb on the health of the survivors and on future generations. His accounts of conversations with American and Japanese experts provide a relevant companion piece for a recently published National Academy of Sciences study downgrading the danger of long-range genetic damage. Thus, we are gently reminded, while leukemia comes relatively soon because the bone marrow which manufactures blood is especially sensitive to radiation, other tumors and cancers take many years to develop and may not yet have been detected. The increased incidence of leukemia, thyroid cancer and microcephalic births in Hiroshima since the war are all scientifically proven to be the result of the Bomb, but leukemia is far and away the most serious problem. Among Japanese in general, the annual leukemia rate is two or three per 100,000 people. Among victims who were within 3,000 yards of the blast, the rate has gone to 15; among those within 1,000 yards, as high as 200.

Even among the leaders of the Japanese left, Steinberg finds a significant readiness to temper feelings of anti-American bitterness with a recognition that one of the basic US motives in dropping the Bomb was a desire to contain the postwar Soviet sphere of influence. Thoughtful Japanese can see some virtue in the fact that the Russians were compelled to abandon their demands for a role in the occupation of Japan, and that Japan was spared division after the German pattern. Still, after balm of various sorts has been applied to the psychological wounds left by August Sixth, and after acknowledgement has been made that Japan might possibly bear a part of the onus for the war, the bedrock attitude remains one of profound and irrevocable reproach toward the US.

Is there hatred? "It runs in a narrow stream," says Steinberg, "but deep." Most Japanese share the attitude of the Hiroshima businessman who commented that Americans "should at least feel apologetic for what they have done," and this is why the bombing of North Vietnam has aroused such resentment. Not only to Japanese but, one might add, to Asians generally, the bombing clearly implies that the United States has forgotten entirely about August Sixth and that if Americans ever did feel apologetic, they have long ago got over the feeling.

Steinberg shuns elaborate editorializing but declares in conclusion that the Japanese can see no threat in China more awful than the Bomb, and so "cannot understand US policy in Vietnam. . . . To many Japanese, the news of American planes bombing Asians in Vietnam automatically switched on the vision of Hiroshima and the mushroom cloud."

"The first Russian revolution" . . . seen in historical perspective by an eye-witness

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION OF 1905

The Workers' Movement and The Formation of Bolshevism and Menshevism

by Solomon M. Schwarz

A Hoover Institution Publication

Written by a scholar of international repute who participated in the 1905 revolution and was a member of the Kerensky government, this fascinating study is the most authoritative and exhaustive treatment of Menshevik and Bolshevik responses to the vast labor unrest of 1905, as well as the best general history of the events that year. The first volume in "The History of Menshevism" — an important new series. $8.95

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
Chicago and London

Guide to Politics

by Gerald W. Johnson

Politics:
The American Way
by Abraham Ribicoff and
Jon O. Newman
(Allyn & Bacon; $3.95)

Senator Ribicoff and District Attorney Newman, both of Connecticut, have collaborated in producing a half-book of considerable merit. To the fledgling politician it may be, indeed, a whole book, a complete manual of the theory of American politics. Viewed from that angle, it is lucid, informative, accurate, and up-to-date, very nearly, perhaps quite, a model manual of theoretical statecraft.

But to the practice of American politics it bears about the relation that the Book of Common Prayer bears to the routine operations of General Motors, or AT&T. Corporation executives do not repudiate the Prayer Book. The principles and rules of conduct laid down in it receive their hearty assent, regardless of sect or creed; but they are ever mindful that theology and business are separate and distinct fields of endeavor, and a careless transition from one to the other is not to be recommended.

The analogy holds with regard to statecraft and politics. Statecraft is the science of the conduct of public affairs. Politics is the process of the allocation of power. It may be an art, it may be a combat, it may be a consensus, or it may be a skin-game. What it emphatically is not, is a science. It follows that the principles of statecraft are related to the practice of politics only in a tenuous and uncertain fashion, which assures that the best manual of statecraft is an unreliable guide through the mazes of politics.

In a dozen passing references Messrs. Ribicoff and Newman show that they are aware of this distinction, but they seem to have proceeded on the assumption that to emphasize it would be to give a distorted and discouraging view of our situation to readers, especially to young and idealistic readers. But it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is a doubtful assumption. The American of voting age whose intellectual stomach is incapable of digesting strong meat is not likely to add much to the strength of the country. The encouraging aspect of our political history is the fact that the republic has survived for a hundred and eighty years and has acquired wealth and power beyond all precedent largely in spite of, rather than because of the way politics has been practiced from the Administration of General George Washington to that of Lyndon Baines Johnson, both inclusive.

The function of a reviewer is to report on the book the author has written, not to criticize him for having failed to write a different kind of book. But when an author discusses half a subject and presents it under a title that covers the whole, he is not exempt from criticism. The gentlemen in question have done just that. Their title is, *Politics: The American Way*, but nowhere in the text do they mention the two propositions that are basic to the practice of politics in America – in other democracies, too, but let that pass. The first of these is pithily expressed in Iago's advice to Roderigo: "I say, put money in thy purse." The second is equally well put in the advertising slogan of the paint manufacturers: "Save the surface and you save all."

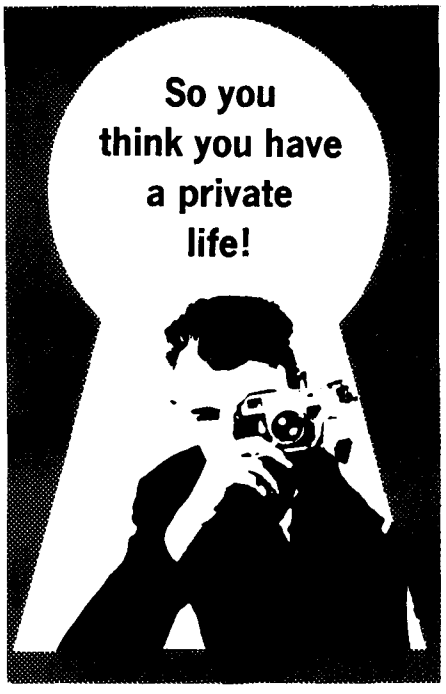
Success in American politics is contingent upon persuading an effective majority of the voters, and if the office sought is a high one, an effective majority comprises a vast number of people. Communicating with vast numbers of people is expensive. Therefore the aspirant with no money in his purse is licked before he starts. If he is a citizen of a large state seeking a senatorship or the governorship, the necessary sum may run into the millions; if he is a candidate for the Presidency of the United States, it will certainly run into the tens of millions. Only three Presidents, Washington, Kennedy, and Johnson, have had money enough of their own to supply even half of a national campaign fund and Washington doesn't count because he didn't run, he was drafted. All the others were given the necessary money by their backers and therefore were obligated. If the backer was a villain, the obligation was dishonest.

The idea in the paint-makers' slogan is as ancient, but it has become overwhelmingly important only since the development of modern advertising methods. Its philosopher is McLuhan. His dictum, "The medium is the message," may reasonably be transposed into "The Image is the candidate," regardless of the man. If the man is made of pasteboard the image will be treacherous.

A discourse on American politics is incomplete and therefore may be misleading if it forgets or refuses to give due weight to the importance of subservience and mendacity as instrumentalities in the practice of politics. They are part of the American way, and if they shock the idealist into despairing of the republic, it is because that particular idealist is too big a fool to be of much value as a citizen.

For an idealist who cannot face the truth, even the pleasant truth, is a dead loss as a political entity. The historian, Acton, deserves the immortality he won with a single sentence: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely." Politics, concerned with the allocation of power, is involved in its corruption, always has been, and always will be. But the pleasant truth that is too much for the idealists is that the corruption of American politics has not thus far prevented American statecraft from achieving some dazzling successes. Bad and foolish men have on occasion done wise and good things. One may incur an obligation to be honest. Not all pretenses are vain; some serve an admirable purpose, as when F. D. Roosevelt preached peace to gain time to prepare for inevitable war.

The fact remains, however, that fraud and corruption are highly dangerous because they are self-destructive. It is of first importance, therefore, to be aware of their existence in our system in order to hold them to the irreducible minimum under which we can flourish, as the experience of the past has amply demonstrated. It is doubtful that Messrs. Ribicoff and Newman have contributed materially to that end; hence it is doubtful that their book, despite its indisputable merits, is to be recommended for wide reading.



Wait till you read

THE INTRUDERS

The Invasion of Privacy by Government and Industry

by Edward V. Long

U. S. Senator from Missouri

■ *Many large hotels across the country are believed to have permanently bugged rooms*

■ *One business executive had a microphone installed in the toilet-tissue container in the ladies room*

■ *A hospital administrator was caught monitoring confidential talks between doctor and patient*

These are THE INTRUDERS. Just a few of them! You will be shocked to meet many others in this authoritative book by the head of the Senate subcommittee investigating wiretapping, bugging, and other forms of "snooping" by government and industry.

Senator Long reveals just how Americans lost their "right to be let alone"—and how they can recover it. Timely, factual, often hair-raising, THE INTRUDERS makes painful but essential reading.

Foreword by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

2nd PRINTING • Illustrated • $5.95

Now at your bookstore

FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, Publishers

New York, N. Y. 10003

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Recently published

THE NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

Enduring Dream of the USA

By David Madsen

"This is a most interesting book about the history of an enduring idea. The idea, that of a national university for the United States, was first proposed in the early days of the nation and has been kept alive by interest and talk over the years to the present.

"The account of why it was never implemented makes as interesting reading as does the history of the idea itself. Although the author recognizes that most of the functions that a national university might have performed have been taken over by other institutions, his speculations on what might have been and, indeed, might still be, are intriguing.

"The copious documentation and an extensive bibliography help to make this book a notable contribution to the history of the American educational endeavor. It is well indexed. The book will be of interest to both the informed layman and the professional educator."—James C. MacCampbell, *Library Journal.*

179 pages *$7.50*

Available through your bookseller

wayne

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Detroit, Michigan 48202

MacBird on Stage

The opening night of *MacBird* was for me an exhilarating experience, and in more ways than one. There was, first of all, the work itself, full of irrepressible impudence and anarchic zest – it has been beautifully produced and immediately calms one's fears that it might not act as well as it reads. But the *event* of the opening was equally impressive – a genuine happening in which an underground author confronted the overworld, exposing dangerous private fantasies to public eyes and ears. That *MacBird* has thus far remained free from political harassment suggests either that we are living in extraordinarily free times or that the present Administration has learned how to ignore its critics entirely – both propositions, I think, are true, and more closely related than would first appear. But aside from the political freedom it implies, the production of the play implies a new theatrical freedom (perhaps also a new theatrical irresponsibility, but this is a price of freedom) that will doubtless make it infinitely more exciting to occupy a theatre seat from now on. Barbara Garson's burlesque of *Macbeth*, with its satiric parallels between Shakespeare's Scotland and Johnson's America, was clearly designed to be read only at protest rallies and anti-war meetings. Yet, here was a production being performed in full panoply at a swinging Greenwich Village coffeehouse before an audience composed not only of well-wishers but of Broadway celebrities, gossip columnists, theatre journalists, and political commentators – possibly the most divided audience I have ever joined. Two opposing Americas were rubbing sleeves (I was myself, through the good offices of the Great Usher in the Sky, seated at a table with Walter Kerr), and one momentarily awaited elbow friction that might ignite the whole room.

MacBird
by Barbara Garson
(Village Gate)

Nothing happened, but the tension was real, and here lies one of the most signal qualities of *MacBird*: Its power to provoke, energize, and even upset its audiences. Mr. Kerr has attacked the play for precisely this quality ("So long as a man is breathing he can be hit where it hurts. But it is something else again to be hit where *we* hurt . . .") as if it were the theatre's function to cushion spectators from pain. Despite his negative opinion, however, Mr. Kerr at least seems to have divined Mrs. Garson's primary moral and aesthetic purpose in the play, which is not to convince anyone that Johnson murdered Kennedy – only the literal-minded will deduce that (do they also believe she thinks Johnson arranged for the death of Stevenson and the plane crash of Teddy Kennedy?) – but rather to name the unnamable and speak the unspeakable. If we are living in a world of anguish, frustration, and senseless violence – a world which only the mad continue to find sane and reasonable – then *MacBird* helps destroy anxieties merely by making our nightmares tangible and manifest.

In short, Barbara Garson is – whether she knows it or not – a true child of Lenny Bruce, who, in turn, is proving to be the posthumous father of the new American drama. For just as Bruce threatened to explode the heavens by suggesting, say, that Eleanor Roosevelt had a venereal disease which she communicated to Chiang Kai-shek (hence his leggings), so Mrs. Garson dares to madden every reasonable, patriotic, right-thinking American by bringing the Kennedy assassination on stage as an object for satire, and making his successor the architect of the event. The degree of truth in both statements is about equal, which is to say virtually nonexistent (though, to be sure, one proposition is purely fantastical and the other has at least been suspected). What is liberating for the spectator in these statements, however, is their audacity: in each case, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

author turns himself into a potential scapegoat for the tribe, evacuating poisons from the body politic, even at the cost of drinking the cup himself. In former days, this was the function of the tragic hero, and the effect on the spectator was what Aristotle called catharsis.

I doubt if Mrs. Garson would claim this function for herself – her conscious purpose is purely political. She wishes to expose the corrosive lust for power that lies behind the orderly façade of government. For this reason, as some have divined, the real object of her satire is less President Johnson than the whole Kennedy dynasty, and the play is already proving more disconcerting to Kennedy liberals than to Johnson conservatives. This emphasis is even more clear in the playing than in the reading because – in the inspired performance of Stacy Keach – the character of MacBird acquires a dimension that the character of Robert Ken O'Dunc (Bobby Kennedy) never reaches. Keach knows what Laurence Olivier knows about the playing of villains – that the actor must love the character he is portraying, no matter how black or evil – and his MacBird, as a result, transcends vulgarity, sentimentality, cornpone folksiness, and brutality to become a figure of some power and substance (actually, he turns into Macbeth, a character I should like to see this actor play some day).

But Robert Ken O'Dunc remains the sterile, mechanical conspirator – cunning, oily, sinister, and duplicitous – and explains why at the end in the accents of Macduff:

> To free his sons from paralyzing scruples
> And temper us for roles of world authority
> Our pulpy human hearts were cut away.
> And in their place, precision apparatus
> Of steel and plastic tubing was inserted.
> The sticky, humid blood was drained and then
> A tepid antiseptic brine injected.

John Ken O'Dunc, played in a stiff and lofty imperial style, is equally antiseptic, though Teddy, who "suffered complications," is merely an idiot ("Bobby, look. There's moo-moos on the lawn"). The most respected figures of both Administrations are, similarly, seen with a cold eye, as if they had all sold their birthrights for a mess of political porridge. The Egg of Head (Stevenson) has a soliloquy, based on Hamlet's "To be or not to be," in which he decides to join forces with evil in the delusion that he can work from within for change, while the Earl of Warren is seen betraying the needs of his conscience in order to "bury doubt" about the real assassins. In such a world, all those in government, no matter how personally decent they may be, take corruption from the general fault, and the only honorable alternatives are withdrawal from political life or radical transformation of the existing structure. Thus, Mrs. Garson reserves her satiric spleen not so much for certain personalities in American political life as for a system of government within which it has become impossible to act with honor.

The production is excellent in all respects. Roy Levine, who invented the directorial concept, and Gerald Freedman who perfected it when he took over the show three weeks prior to the opening, have both approached *MacBird* as if it were a play by Brecht.

Those who have seen the Berliner Ensemble version of *The Resistible Rise of Arturo Ui* – another work which uses Shakespeare (Richard III) in order to make a political comment (on Hitler's rise to power) – will notice certain similarities between the two productions in the use of makeup, props, and costumes. The actors wear pancake masks; the three witches have become a beatnik, a black Muslim, and an old-style revolutionary who sing, dance, and perform minstrel shows; and the acting is a lovely amalgam of Shakespearean ham and contemporary reference. So are the costumes which capture the flavor both of Shakespeare history plays and of American political conventions, sports, and movies. The Wayne of Morse, in a Ben Turpin moustache, flies on stage in red underwear, wearing a helmet and brandish-

Shared power or "separated insecurity?"

NATO AND THE RANGE OF AMERICAN CHOICE

William T. R. Fox
Annette Baker Fox

President Johnson has described NATO as a specialized instrument for avoiding "separated insecurity." In a period of alliance strain the authors' examination of sixteen years of United States use and misuse of the NATO instrument is especially pertinent. Their analysis goes far beyond the disruptive effects of Vietnam and de Gaulle to examine the basic problem of an unequal alliance—how to pursue shared goals when a superpower and its allies are not agreed as to means.

$7.95 at your bookseller

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
440 West 110th Street, New York, N.Y. 10025

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing an enormous lance; John Ken O'Dunc is given an orb and scepter during his coronation which are made of gilded baseballs; Lady MacBird comes on for her sleepwalking scene, with cold cream smeared on her face, wearing hair rollers and a celebrity hat; and MacBird dresses for battle by donning spiked football shoulder pads, a catcher's mask, chest protector, and shin guards, and hockey gloves.

As for the performances, all are good, some are very good, the lead is superb. William Levane as Bobby bears a strong resemblance to his prototype, and adds a singular quality of smiling villainy; Jennifer Darling, as the beatnik witch, has a fine energetic bounce; David Spielberg is impressively sleazy and opportunistic as the Crony; and Stacy Keach brings to MacBird a pelvic strut, a rolling tongue, and a powerfully brutal presence which makes his fall ("Now cracks a noble heart") harrowing as well as hilarious. The settings are imaginative, the music illustrative, and the coffeehouse comfortable (except for its impossible sightlines) – in short, *MacBird* is now bubbling up from underground in an extremely artful environment. Firmly established as a scandalous success, it is finding its way into the souls, if not the hearts, of our countrymen, and nothing can prevent it now from doing its purgative work. ROBERT BRUSTEIN

Guthrie's Shakespeare

Somewhere on the surface of *Measure for Measure* is a serious dramatic comedy about justice tempered by mercy. In Tyrone Guthrie's production for the Bristol Old Vic, the surface is skimmed lightly in order to uncover a comic melodrama about justice confirmed through whimsy. Were the production the work of any other director, one would be inclined to give it a nodding glance followed by a confident dismissal.

Measure for Measure
Directed by Tyrone Guthrie
NY City Center

A director's director, respected as much for his peripatetic inclinations and his entertaining personality as he is for his equally uncommon capacity to get on with the job, Guthrie seems to define the word 'professional.' If you needed a Pope, a prime minister, a Captain for the Queen Mary, an image for a quinine ad, or (attracted by his extraordinary height) a high scorer for your basketball team, you could feel comfortable with Guthrie.

The record shows, too, that he has a fondness for *Measure for Measure* (he has directed four other productions since 1929), even if, on this occasion, the play doesn't respond with equal fondness to him. It is not a play that bends easily to whims. Nothing modern is dreamed of in its philosophy. An informed audience today, especially one drooping under the weight of official euphemisms for lying such as the "credibility gap" and the "crisis of confidence," can scarcely be expected to warm itself in the chilly, forbidding shadows of the Duke's ethical world. What is described is a society moving resolutely, as ours might wish to move, to the tune of a single drummer: Divine Will, in the person of the Duke, fully caparisoned in all the proper Elizabethan trappings of authority, power, and natural order. The Duke is not a schemer, a villain, or a playboy. He is a boss. And in the world of the play, he is exercising a boss's prerogative to restore his house to order. The means to this end supply the drama. The end itself is not to be questioned.

Guthrie is not, in any case, a natural questioner. On several occasions he has updated the period of a classic play, as if to say, Wouldn't it be fun if we saw it in a new way? The change usually goes no deeper than the first layer of crinoline. One would have thought, then, that *Measure for Measure*, spared any alien modernity, would be perfect putty for the Guthrie mold. That it developed otherwise can be attributed to several conditions.

First, all of the low comedy scenes and most of the desperate confrontation scenes are directed faithlessly. Guthrie allows not a moment of trust in his material. The play seems constantly to be swinging itself into frenzied orbits, the dizziest and most detached of which belonging to the actor playing Elbow. This is, I suppose, character acting as Guthrie sees character. The actor doesn't walk, he paces; he doesn't talk, he mouths; nor does he laugh, he guffaws. It's as if the donkeys had inherited the earth. Not that Guthrie is condescending to the low life of the play; he is patronizing actors. Elbow sticks his tongue out at a guard, not because we have been shown anything before about him and the guard, but because he is leaving the stage. In a Guthrie production, no moment can be left without movement, and no movement can be left without punctuation.

The Duke doesn't merely don the habit of a Friar, he gets lost in the folds of its hood, thereby shifting the tone from that of an earnest formative scene, preparing both the plot and the purpose of the play, into that of a light, dispensable comic interlude. Similarly, in what is otherwise a mercifully direct encounter between Angelo and Isabella, Guthrie permits Lucio a quick jab at Angelo's arm. All these actions share one quality apart from their essential meaninglessness: once engaged, they suggest further actions that could only disrupt the forward motion of the play. If Guthrie were a musician, he would probably submerge the melody of Mozart in a cacophony of grace notes.

To direct a play five times in a lifetime is to declare almost a libidinous attraction either to the play or to a portion of its content. Casting one's private eye over the evidence of this production, one can deduce rather swiftly that he has minimal use within his heart for Elbow, Froth, Pompey, and Barnadine; that he has a sneaking affection for Angelo's stewed prune soul, a grudging appreciation of Isa-

EUROPE
An unregimented trip stressing individual freedom. Low cost yet covers all the usual plus places other tours miss. Unless the standard tour is a "must" for you, discover this unique tour before you go to Europe.
EUROPE SUMMER TOURS
255 Sequoia, Dept. N—Pasadena, California

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bella's ramrod spine, and a somewhat fainthearted delight in their two big scenes together; that, finally, he feels positive adoration for the Duke. Or rather, for his image of the character. Where the production unearths its motor energy is precisely where it subverts the play: in the Duke seen only as renaissance gamester, hit-and-run-driver, chuckling Machiavel, and gay blade about town; in the Duke seen, in short, as Tyrone Guthrie. Ingratiating as the interpretation is, it won't do. How, after all, can an actor be persuasive playing a man who brings more real theatre to life than real life to theatre?

Finally, there is Guthrie's surprising neglect of the most obvious theatrical imperative – design and company playing. The gingerbread castle turret, spinning in mindless scene-changing orbit throughout the performance, is about as ugly a piece of decorative nonsense as I have seen – grey, unsuggestive, boringly predictable. It is almost a stroke of good fortune that it is so poorly lit. These design elements, coupled with the prevailingly drab, red-brick costumes, say more about Guthrie's present indifference, I hope, than they do of the Bristol Old Vic's taste. The company itself, though led by Richard Pasco's intelligently withdrawn Angelo and Barbara Leigh-Hunt's passionate and open Isabella, looks pallid, summer-stockish, and fragmented, often as if the actors were meeting each other on stage for the first time.

The responsibility, hopefully, reverts to the good Dr. Guthrie. He has run them over with his pile-driver, pressing them into his distortions, crushing them with his relentless fussiness. Obsessively energetic, he seems often like a fugitive from a Ben Jonson comedy, an extravagantly talented man crippled by his humor. Yet one wants to like him if only because a part of him seems so much more alive than the whole of other directors. Any man who dislikes seriousness so much can't be all bad.

GORDON ROGOFF

ART

Wyeth at the Whitney

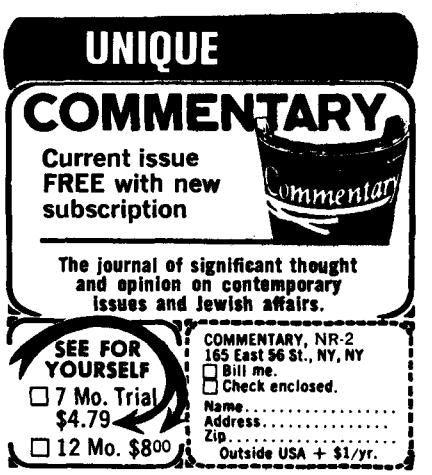
The new Whitney has done something worse than officially recognizing that American art began before 1945. It has recognized that there is something going on in American art that can by no stretch of anyone's words be called avant-garde. It has done this by installing a large, handsome and quite convincing exhibition of the paintings of Andrew Wyeth, son of the famous illustrator, N. S. Wyeth, father of yet another representational painter, James, and himself the best-known and most highly paid painter in the country. The show is packing them in at the Whitney, as it did previously at Baltimore and at its place of origin, the Pennsylvania Academy.

Wyeth, as is well-known, is the favorite painter of President Eisenhower and there are people around who think that if Ike likes it it can't be good, forgetting that farewell address which remains the most prescient presidential pronouncement of the second half of the century. Wyeth paints readily recognizable people and places. He endows most of these subjects with some emotional content, restrained, to be sure, but still deriving more from the nature of the scene or the human relationships than from the action of putting paint to canvas or from any notion that what he is painting is a breakthrough in art history.

All this is heresy and inquisitorial counterattack has not been slow in coming. A piece in the current *Art in America* is typical. The author, Jay Jacobs, is the magazine's book editor, thus making by his very position a comment on Wyeth's alleged "literary" failings. The charge is made specific. After a long passage demonstrating that Wyeth is not photographic at all (that was Monet), Mr. Jacobs enumerates certain of the pictures as conveying "an implication of events outside the viewer's range of vision," such as a man listening, curtains blowing, a table set; he then notes in triumphant condemnation, "These devices of course are not pictorial but literary, and the literature involved usually is not of a very high order."

This is the heart of the case against Wyeth and it needs to be looked at closely. Strictly speaking, "literary" paintings ought to be illustrations of literature, such as those Delacroix did for Dante or N. C. Wyeth did for Robert Louis Stevenson. As far as you can see in the show at the Whitney, Andrew Wyeth has never executed such a painting. What, then, can the change mean? Apparently it means simply that the emotional content of the paintings, their impact upon the viewer, comes from realities or perceptions that can be described in words. But of course the perceptions and realities that are affective in Wyeth's work cannot really be duplicated in words. They are visual and have a great deal to do with light falling upon a rather bleak world and upon citizens of that world in moments of introspective repose. The apparent motive of the attack is revealed later in Mr. Jacobs' piece: "I myself am inclined to think many of these [people who like Wyeth] . . . see him as a marvelous corrective to all those city slickers who . . . have been hornswoggling the American public with a lot of meaningless daubs."

Wyeth isn't a corrective to anything. The world of "meaningless daubs" goes on undisturbed and not seriously



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

discommoded by his presence. The awful truth is that the meaningless daubs generate and exist on the support of a lot more literature than does Wyeth. Avant-garde art in America for over twenty years now has been inseparable from its strictly literary interpretations and slogans. Wyeth's paintings reach their public with apology, explication or dogma. The fact that they now comprise the new Whitney's first one-man show argues the kind of universal tolerance that is more often invoked only for the avant-garde.

Probably Wyeth's best-known painting is "Christina's World," the crippled girl on the brown grass looking toward the farmhouse up the hill. The painting, done in 1948, is also the most nearly melodramatic the artist has ever painted. He has since then become progressively more restrained, more inclined to find his emotional effects, his human implications in the way bleak light slants upon a weathered wooden wall or the back and shoulders of an aged and arthritic Negro farm laborer. For a man accused of being sentimental and crowd-pleasing, there is amazingly little color in Wyeth and almost no good cheer. From landscape after landscape, you get the impression that the color has been drained out of the world by an insistent, yet rather cold, sun.

That is from the temperas. The dry-brush water colors are something else again. The finest of these are modest moments of winter or spring upon the forest floor, the kind of instant beauty the walker in the woods sees at his feet and then is gone. There is nothing spectacular about it: a sprinkle of Quaker Ladies or Dutchmen's Britches, all the short-lived little blooms with the odd names pushing up through winter's relicts of dead leaves and dark earth and perhaps a patch of dirty snow.

The prime virtue of avant-garde art used to be the ability to go against the grain of one's own time and follow one's own bent regardless of current fashion, acceptance or ideas of what art has to be. In the American art world of today, one of the few who embodies that virtue is Andrew Wyeth.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

More Blow-Up

Sirs:

I must say that most of the letters (March 4) responding to Pauline Kael's review of *Blow-Up* suggest to me that Miss Kael is at least as much on the right track as her critics.

Something obviously went wrong with Antonioni after *L'Avventura*, a great film by any standards. I saw *La Notte* again yesterday and was embarrassed by the overt philosophizing, by the really acute weakness of the writing *vis-à-vis* the action.

Miss Kael might have made more of his skill with women in quiet or off-guard moments. He does wonders with Jeanne Moreau in *La Notte*. But Antonioni has been quite candid in the past about his weakness. He has admitted to having had only an engineer's education at Ferrara; he came to directing from the technical side. With the result that his instinctive aestheticism isn't very well anchored to any reasoned or coherent view of art. He is often splendid in developing an action and in composing a fluid sequence of still-lifes. But the awful *stuff* he frequently makes his people speak is an index to the weakness of all his recent films.

R. W. Flint
Cambridge, Mass.

Adding Pauline Kael to its staff was the finest service *The New Republic* could have offered to those moviegoers who value thoughtfully, perceptively, and lucidly written criticism. Too many film reviews remind one of book reviews prepared by tastemakers fooled into believing the press releases prepared by companies which have vested interests in their products.

An uncompromisingly honest critic, Miss Kael refuses to be "snowed" by these public relations tactics. As for her attack on *Blow-Up*, how many film critics were astute enough to recognize it as an obvious piece of kitsch which pandered to the tastes of those who wanted to believe it was a "significant" film? Time will prove that Miss Kael's evaluation was correct. Those who admire the film this year will be shocked to realize, five years from now, that Antonioni's "masterpiece" is meaningless and pretentious.

Substituting sincerity for the empty gesture of genuflecting at the altars of the "in" directors (and their apologists), Miss Kael is our most valuable commentator.

Rodney E. Sheratsky
Demarest, New Jersey

For all the ranting and raving about Miss Kael's irrelevancies, your correspondents failed to counter a single one of her concrete criticisms of the film and offered no sensible interpretation of the movie's meaning (with Nannette Cochran as a friend, who needs an enemy?). Pauline Kael is offensive to many of your readers because she is so ruthless in her contempt for liberal cant. She asked precisely the right questions about that beautiful vacuum, *Blow-Up*, and came out with the only possible answers. . . .

Duncan Aswell
Wellesley College

I just want to second the minority view about Pauline Kael's ability as a movie critic. I've not seen such a barrage of *ad hominem* arguments directed against one of your reviewers since you printed Kauffmann's critique of *In Cold Blood*. Only one of Miss Kael's adversaries disputed her understanding of *Blow-Up* by offering another analysis. The rest were satisfied with a few barbed epithets aimed principally at her references to *Time* and Crowther. If *Blow-Up* is a "deep film" I would like to know why. Otherwise, I must assume Miss Kael's detractors are no more articulate on the subject than the pop journalists to whom she alludes.

D. F. Zickerman
Oakland, California

Pauline Kael should be commended for her good taste in refraining from the sulphury debate of what *Blow-Up* is about, and limiting herself to an examination of the causes which permit such a weak film to receive such acclamation. The art movie game, next to the modern art game, is the most convincing argument yet put forth against mass art. I salute her for wanting no part of it. Audiences, who are most impressed by what makes no sense to them, or by critics, who parrot mogul critics or write what their

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

circulation images demand, laud works which are so technically unwholesome they would be laughed out of a university extension course in creative writing. . . . I saw a sculpture show recently where the artist put a pencil and paper by each work so that every spectator could write his own title to it. Presumably the artist intended the work to be so vague that anyone could read into it whatever he wished. The "put on" had evolved to become honest art, which Antonioni, if this is his intent, might examine. Personally, I am getting a bit tired of being "put on." It's becoming a bore.

Allan Michael Frankel
Berkeley, Calif.

Bernard B. Fall

Sirs:

Perhaps *The New Republic* might be interested in the following quote about your late correspondent, Bernard Fall, by a Major in Vietnam. What chiefly pleased Dr. Fall about this statement was that it was written by someone *in the field.*

"Outside of the military, I expect that it is difficult to understand how highly the 1966 soldier thinks of Bernard Fall. He is for us a Mahan, Clausewitz, an Ernie Pyle, if you will, rolled into one. You'll go far to find a reasonably well-read pro who hasn't looked upon *Street Without Joy* as a textbook to be dissected, analyzed, evaluated and above all else, learned. In Republic of Vietnam now, his description of the demise of Mobile Group 100 on Route 19 is considered classic. Going on to *The Two Vietnams* is like stepping into a higher level of realization. The points in *Street Without Joy* are amplified and even bygawd, made more lucid."

Mary R. Humphrey
Washington, D. C.

Disband NSA

Sirs:

We are deeply disappointed with the analysis and political position put forward in last week's lead note on the CIA ("Playing It Straight," March 4). We believe that the CIA has systematically subverted democratic institutions in the US for 20 years. It has made meaningful dissent impossible by involving almost every "independent" political organization in the ideology of the Cold War.

The note said, "Many who have taken Agency money to do what they believe needed doing are not villains. The results have not been all bad and were often good. . . ." To be complicit in CIA operations which destroy independence seems to us to be pure villainy. And to be "unwitting" is to be no more free; ignorance is not independence. The results of action cannot be separated from the methods used to achieve them.

In the case of NSA the CIA has constructed nothing more than an elaborate "front." Its role was that of a CIA instrument first, and a dispenser of student services thereafter. Its constituency was in the CIA headquarters in Langley, Va., not on the hundreds of college campuses it pretended to serve. Whatever "good" the students may have thought they were doing now has to be seen as the product of a totalitarian institution – manipulated, controlled, and employed for subversion at home and overseas.

To suggest that the NSA should now be supported – by a consortium of huge foundations instead of the US government – is merely to say that the front should be perpetuated. It would change the NSA's constituency from one set of manipulators to another. The NSA is a democratic mutant. It ought to be disbanded at once. The only decent course is for its officers and staff to resign, for its representatives abroad to be recalled, for its programs to be suspended, and for a new union of students to be democratically constituted in America.

James Ridgeway & Andrew Kopkind

CIA Stooges

Sirs:

Your concern about "CIA Stooges" (February 25, 1967) gets watered down by the way you hedge it. You charge the CIA with "meddling and blunders" in the case of NSA, as if the CIA were simply some well-intentioned though muddle-headed oaf. Congress, you say, ought to "clean up the mess" – as if there were no method in this mess. How many more revelations of CIA, Pentagon, State Department penetration into education, the press, foundations, politics will it take for you to grant that these involvements are not discrete errors but rather a few exposed threads in an interwoven whole? When anti-Communism (no matter how "sophisticated") dominates national life to this extent, the critical independence of intellectuals and liberals – not surprisingly – breaks down. Everyone can sell – though the prices vary – when the CIA demands of the seller very little more than what he would otherwise be up to. In this sense it is not unrealistic to think of the entire society as a central intelligence agency, orchestrated by the CIA and its like but to music – of counter-revolution and Pax Americana – not of its sole composition. . . . What "hurts this country" is not the *news* about NSA so much as the *fact* of this coming-together. You may choose to

More than just a telescope . . .
More than just a microscope

Emoskop: a complete vestpocket optical system.

ONLY $14.95 With Case

We went to Wetzlar, Germany (world capital of fine optics) to find such perfection at such a price. Remove the EMOSKOP from its fitted leather case and it is a 30-power microscope. A twist of the wrist converts it to a 2.5-power telescope (ideal for theater, field and sky) or a unique 2.5x telescope-loupe. Another twist and you have a choice of magnifying glasses: 5-, 10-, or 15-powers! ☐ The perfect vestpocket companion for exacting professionals and scientists, and all those who wish to observe anything more closely and clearly. ☐ A most discreet opera glass. ☐ If you make a fetish of quality, the EMOSKOP will do you proud. Five coated lenses, fully achromatic, absolutely flat field. ☐ Modern Photography Magazine calls the EMOSKOP "... the only magnifier worthy of the name." ☐ Haverhill's guarantees your satisfaction without qualification.

INSTANT ORDER BLANK
Mail to: HAVERHILL'S TNR0311
526 Washington St., San Francisco, Calif. 94111
Send me_____ Emoskop Optical System(s) @ $14.95*
☐ I enclose check or M.O. plus $1.00 for post. and ins.
☐ Bill Amer. Expr. Acct. #_____
*(California residents add 4% sales tax)
NAME_____
ADDRESS_____
_____ ZIP _____

© 1965 Haverhill's
Searching the World to bring you the Finest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

try to outflank this "backlash" by calling for investigations, but nothing fundamental will change until you find an impulse for change in the quality of our situation, not in its threat to stability. The country *has* "a serious problem at home" that will not so easily be placated by professions of concern, or "realignments" of power relationships within the same sordid ethos of collaboration. The question for many of us is not how to live with the backlash, but how to reassert the meaning of independence and criticism when the trend is so powerfully to hedge the former and assimilate the latter; when the "credibility gap" must be measured in light-years, not modest degrees of mistrust, not marginal mistakes.

Todd Gitlin
Chicago, Ill.

The Future-Planners

Sirs:

It is ironic that in years past, when planning was guided by whatever goals and fads the professional planners were currently espousing, *The New Republic* often came out foursquare for more planning. Now that social accounting or PPBS is on the horizon and planning may be coming of age, I detect a note of misplaced fearfulness in Andrew Kopkind's otherwise excellent article, "The Future-Planners" (February 25).

PPBS – Planning-Programming-Budgeting-Systems – is not just a method of developing social indicators and balancing societal benefits against debits. It has a greater virtue – it must take into account that every public decision has different benefits and debits for different sectors of the society, thus forcing the planners, politicians – and us – to ask constantly who is to be benefitted and debitted by public policy. Traditional planning discourages this question; it makes covert benefit-cost decisions on the basis of "professional" (and elitist) expertise. Traditional politics also discourages it; the politician makes his decisions by a primitive and equally covert social accounting scheme which measures mainly the benefits and costs to those to whom he is beholden. PPBS will bring the allocation process out into the open, and enable all to see who is being dealt in and left out.

For this reason, PPBS, unlike older planning methods, can be used by anti-establishment analysts of all stripes, and this reduces somewhat the danger of unilateral planning by any establishment. As Kopkind points out, there are other dangers (which have always been with us) of an information monopoly at the top, and of the ability of the establishment to include *its* indicators and benefit-cost judgments while excluding others. The crucial issue, then, is, not whether to be for or against PPBS, which I think is bound to come, but how to obtain the right of public access to all data, and how to give every group, countervailing and other, the opportunity to put its indicators and judgments into the social accounting hopper.

The present forms of public planning and decision-making have one virtue. Being muddled, they provide an occasional opportunity for decisions which benefit the powerless at the expense of the powerful, and of the minority at the expense of the majority. This does not happen often, and only time will tell how often it will happen when benefit-cost decisions are discussed openly – which could enable a majority to exert its tyranny. (The people then most likely to lose are those who now gain when planning goals are formulated by a professional élite). I'm willing to take my chances with democracy and majority rule, particularly if PPBS makes it possible for the voters to be more fully informed about who among them will gain and lose from governmental decisions.

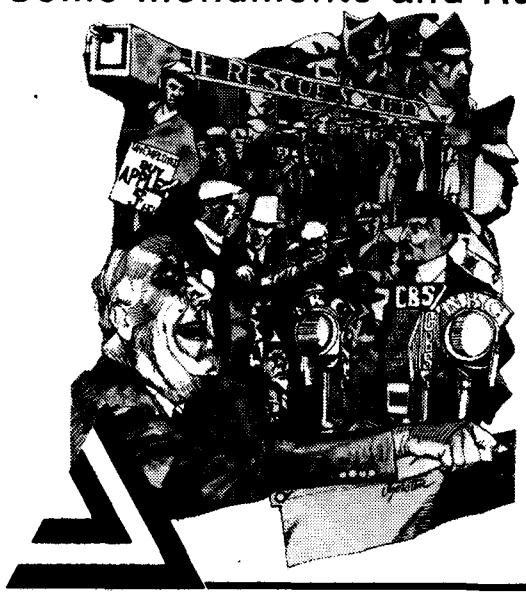
Herbert J. Gans
Center for Urban Education
New York City

Andrew Kopkind's "The Future-Planners" (February 25 issue) is a thoughtful piece of writing, obviously the product of careful study. He is right in stressing that the activity "is too im-

Murray Kempton

PART OF OUR TIME:

Some Monuments and Ruins of the Thirties



This superb analysis recreates the social ferment of the 1930's through a series of extended character studies of twenty men and women, including Alger Hiss, Joe Curran, and Walter and Victor Reuther.

A Delta Paperback $1.95
At your local bookstore

For a complete catalog of Delta Books, write
Dell Publishing Co., Inc.
750 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Murray Kempton, *formerly an editor of this journal, is now contributing a regular column to* The New York Post. Richmond Lattimore, *professor of classics at Bryn Mawr, is a poet and translator whose latest book is* Stride of Times. Selig S. Harrison *is senior staff member in charge of Asian Studies at the Brookings Institution, on leave of absence from* The Washington Post. Robert Martin Adams' *latest book is* Nil – Episodes in the Literary Conquest of Void during the Nineteenth Century.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

portant to be left only to planners." Social planning – "future planning" if you will – requires an alliance between planners and government administrators which is modified by thoughtful persons everywhere. I am hopeful that such persons may be found within the Congress as well as in the media and in the intellectual community. The technological ground swell will have an important impact on the lives of all of us, and whether that impact enhances or degrades the quality of American life will depend to a large extent on our willingness to examine carefully the directions and the basic assumptions of all of our new programs.

Hearings will be held on my legislation, the "Full Opportunity and Social Accounting Act," in the next few months by Senator Harris' subcommittee on Governmental Research. These hearings will expose the possible scope, potential benefits and potential dangers in devising social indicators and "future planning."

It is the intent of this legislation to arrive at a compromise between the practical and the radical. In any systems approach, the danger lies not in the mechanism itself, but in the absence of thoughtful use of the mechanism. At the same time that we must be careful not to create amoral monsters unwilling and unable to ask the fundamental policy questions, we would be foolish, I think, if we did not take advantage of the opportunities that are now becoming available to measure and evaluate the facts of social legislation.

It seems to me that the important question is one of our commitments – whether they are only to the system or to the human beings for whom the legislation and the system are intended. I am confident that both within the Congress and outside it there is adequate concern for the quality as well as the quantity of the American future. The problems we are now trying to solve are severe ones, and they require sophisticated techniques. They also require sophisticated criticism and analysis, but Kopkind's article is evidence enough that we are adequate to the task.

Walter F. Mondale
Committee on
Aeronautical and Space Sciences
US Senate

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

Apollo, the Destroyer
by Douglas J. Stewart

One copy – ten cents
Five or more – five cents each
Send your order with payment to:

Reprint Section
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St. NW
Washington, D. C. 20006

Mr. Kopkind, though doubtful that social indicators of any reliability can ever be constructed, nevertheless wonders ". . . who will use the information, and for what purposes?" The growth of information, *i.e.*, knowledge, is usually considered desirable for its own sake. The suggestion that information should not be collected because it would be misused verges on the paranoic. Such a suggestion is also dangerous because it implies that policy decisions are better based on ignorance than knowledge, unless, of course, the "right" person is making the decisions.

Kopkind fears a governmental monopoly of question asking. He joins the critics of the Moynihan Report and cites the Report as an example of how government officials ". . . were able to frame national thinking about race and poverty problems by their choice of questions." Bad research is indefensible certainly, but it does not follow from this one example that any future research will also be bad. Would Kopkind solve the problems of asking wrong questions by having *policy* makers ask no questions? The real danger of a governmental monopoly of question asking comes, as Hans Morganthau pointed out in these pages months ago, from the federal sponsorship of research on the campus and from the stifling of public debate, not from the actual or anticipated adoption of a new approach to questions of social policy. Future planning, in and of itself, carries no connotation of the subtle demogoguery which seems to worry Kopkind.

John R. Hanson, II
Univ. of Chicago

Kauffmann, *from page 20*

for an apolitical, Philistine existence. Ideology has given way to consumption."

This concentration on merely being busy burghers is understandable enough, but it sometimes leads to a remarkable insensitivity. From my hotel window in Düsseldorf I could see a splendid modern building built by the Thyssen corporation. On the way to the concentration-camp memorial in the Hamburg cemetery, I

BOOK HUNTING?
ANY BOOK LOCATED! No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! Write to—Dept. NEW
BOOKS-ON-FILE
Union City, New Jersey 07087

This was our June cover. You should have seen October's.

By Jerome Agel
While reviewers are praising for the umpteenth time the diary of a Swiss private and the history of glass design, we're reporting what's happening, what's really happening, baby. Like "The Boys of Boise," Idaho's homosexual scandals; For Hotch the Belle Tolls; The real message of "MacBird"; "Don't jump on the RFK bandwagon"; Pamela Tiffin's College of One; New Journalists Replacing Old Novelists; LSD and the turned-on grandmother; "Ho Chi Minh's Daughter"; Capote pays up his Tynan bet. Our name is BOOKS, the lively monthly for the very lively reader. Every issue is an unpredictable experience. Says Newsweek: "BOOKS has a talent for first-rate scoops." Broadway-London playwright: "Every issue is like a great night in the theater." Captain of industry: "Gives me ideas." Princeton prof: "BOOKS is fantastically imaginative, entertaining. Put me down for two more gift subscriptions." Manhattan femme fatale: "Reading BOOKS is like living with someone you love. You're beautiful." Our widely quoted, exclusive Cocktail Party column makes news: Jeane Dixon, the seer, told us: "Governor Wallace would make a good President." Marshall McLuhan said: "Art is anything you can get away with." News, seminal ideas, layouts available nowhere else. Plus plus plus. Scoop scoop scoop. There is something new under the fun sun: Us—BOOKS. See for yourself.
ONLY BY SUBSCRIPTION—Not on Newsstands

BOOKS/Agel Publishing Co., Inc.
598 Madison Avenue, NYC 10022
My check is enclosed for BOOKS the lively monthly periodical.
NAME .....
(Please Print)
ADDRESS .....
CITY ..... STATE ..... ZIP .....
☐ One Year—$2.92 12 monthly issues ☐ Two Years—$5.50 24 monthly issues

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERSONALS

SPARKLING CIDER (nonalcoholic)—Gold Medal winner! Enjoy at "champagne occasions" and with fine foods. Send 50c for sample (serves 2) and particulars. MARTINELLI'S, Dept. NR, Box 549, Watsonville, California 95076.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. N3, 79 Wall Street, NYC.

COMPUTER DATING SERVICE for single adults. Send for free brochure. COMPUTADATE, P.O. Box 20, Peabody, Mass. 01960.

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STRIPS. Low-cost advertising for Organizations, Special Events, School Projects, Business, Political Campaigns and Slogans. Write for Free Brochure, Price List and *Samples. Reflective Advertising, Dept. NR, 873* Longacre, St. Louis, Mo. 63132.

SUPPORT OUR BOYS – BRING THEM HOME bumper sticker. 3 for $1; 7 for $2. J. Theodore Hefley, 715 Collegewood Drive, Ypsilanti, Michigan.

"LSD IS FATTENING" – Send $1.00 for four bumper strips and list of other unique titles. Savar, 138 West Gorgas, Philadelphia, Pa. 19119.

HYPOCRISY, NO: DEMOCRACY, YES. "Age 18 Vote!" campaign buttons, bumper banners. 4/$1.00, 100/$15.00. Collins, Box 2846-R, Santa Monica, California 90405.

UNDERGROUND BUTTONS! Free list. Sub-Box 3365a, Midway, Washington 98031.

PACKET BERKELEY BUTTONS send $2. Hertz 2117 Haste, Suite 308, Berkeley, California.

USE LAWFUL DIRECT ACTION to legalize abortion—LEGALIZE ABORTION, P.O. Box 24163, Los Angeles, 90024.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING." Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free. Sleep-Learning Research Association, Box 24-NR, Olympia, Washington.

WE CANNOT ABSTAIN FROM BEING MAN, but we can be man in more than name only. We can be man in life. Those of us who hold this attitude of humanism see ourselves as some of the "millions of solitary individuals." But it is enough for us, because we are a conscious part. Humanism can be a way of life; for us, it is necessary to live it now. Free information. NR-20, American Humanist Association, Humanist House, Yellow Springs, Ohio 45387.

CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion) 25c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....23c
Per word 12 times in one contract year.....22c
Per word 24 times in one contract year.....20c
Per word 48 times in one contract year.....18c

Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions In One Year

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th St. N.W., Wash. 36, D. C.

passed a complex of new structures bearing the name Krupp. I know that there are differences in ownership and management; I am talking about sheer insensitivity to the names themselves.

On the subject of East Germany, the DDR, Elon seems to me a bit overdepressed, especially for a man who has been stationed in Warsaw – and especially since (in contrast to Warsaw) he comments on the incorruptibility of the East Germans. Admittedly I only glimpsed East Berlin for a few hours, but it didn't seem much different to me from Warsaw and some other Iron Curtain cities that I have seen, at least in apparent spirit.

However, Elon stresses two important points about the DDR. The first is the subject of guilt for Nazi actions. The DDR ascribes all that guilt to the Federal Republic, considering itself cleansed by its drastic change of government. (One consequence of this is that the DDR feels free to trade openly with the Arab countries and to oppose Israel, on both of which paths the Federal Republic must tread softly.) The second point is that the DDR is now 18 years old – four years older than the Weimar Republic, six years older than the Third Reich. This easily overlooked fact has led to some psychological adjustments in East Germans. Several West German journalists told me that their visits to the DDR convince them that many East Germans have pride in their accomplishments and in their country. Conditions there are undeniably grimmer than in the West, but men who have organized an effective production schedule or rebuilt a ruined town inevitably take some pride in their work. Doubtlessly many of them would like to get out of the East, but the contrary assumption – what we may call the Radio Free Europe concept – seems untrue: that every East German spends every waking hour longing to be in West Germany.

As for reunification, Elon reports the schism that exists on this subject in the West itself – a schism that includes complete acceptance of the status quo by some. He cites the celebrated but forgotten Tübingen *Memorandum of the Eight* of 1961, which renounces claims to territory east of the Oder-Neisse line. Two of the famous eight who signed it were the Nobel laureate physicist, Werner von Heisenberg, and Carl-Friedrich von Weizsaecker.

The future – that is what concerns observers more than the present; for the present is something of a facsimile of democracy resulting from Allied occupation and a desire to ingratiate as much as from impulse and certainly more than from tradition. (Elon's book was written before the recent electoral success of the neo-Nazi NPD.) The future means, by definition, education; and as Elon points out, German education is in a sorry state, stratified in procedures over a hundred years old. German children take a test at ten that virtually decides their futures – whether they are to proceed on a road that leads to the university or to a trade school, and subsequent change from one road to another is difficult. It is, as it works out, a class division. I was told that rectors of universities have a hard time convincing working-class parents that education is not a waste of time. Moreover, there is a great need for more educational facilities, which is only very slowly being filled.

If confidence in Germany means confidence in Germans who have an acute sense of moral history, a consciousness of insufficient change, a love for Germany and an impatience with it, then that confidence must at present be placed chiefly in some artists and journalists. Novelists and poets like Günter Grass, Martin Walser, Günter Eich, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Alexander Kluge; trenchant journalists like R. W. Leonhardt of *Die Zeit* and Rudolf Augstein of *Der Spiegel* – these are the lovers-haters out of whom a better future may come. (And it is a happy sign that their works are widely available in public libraries.)

Augstein told Elon that Germany had been swindled out of a new beginning by the Adenauer era, and Elon asked what kind of new beginning he had in mind. Augstein replied: "To put it frankly, we were thinking of a Germany that would not be the cause of World War III." It is not a presumptuous worry, even in these days of eruptions in Asia and Africa; and we can watch the Augsteins as a barometer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LITERATURE

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS – All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

BALZAC'S BAWDY, Tapes 1 and 2. (2 track, 3¾ i.p.s.) Riotous pranks of French priests, virgins, spinsters, kings. . . . Read with your ears while working, resting, convalescing. $7.95 each. Both for $14.95 postpaid. TAPEBOOK, Box 692, Westport, Connecticut 06880.

FREE CATALOG, brochure. Buddhist Publication Society, Box 61, Kandy, Ceylon.

AMERICAN HAIKU magazine. Subscription – $3.00 yearly. Box 73, Platteville, Wisconsin 53818.

THE IDLER. Lively, offbeat liberal monthly. Fun to read. Send $2 for trial year's subscription. Idler, 413A - 6th St., N.E., Washington, D. C. 20002.

LIFE, DEATH, LOVE, HATE, evil, LBJ, fiction, sex, air pollution, thought pollution, books, films, animals, shame, anger & despair, poetry. Where it's at: GRAFFITI MAGAZINE, ($2 – 6 issues),

COLLEGE STUDENT SURVEY Magazine. Psychology, attitudes, values. Sample $1.00. Box 125, Oshkosh, Wisconsin 54901.

SOCIALIST BOOKS – Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

$10 DAILY Writing Short Articles at Home. Begin Immediately! Copyrighted Report Reveals How and Where! Send $1.00. PanAm, Box 11796 NR, Atlanta 5, Georgia.

POETRY WANTED for cooperative Anthology. Include stamped envelope. Idlewild Publishers, 543 Frederick, San Francisco, California.

EMPLOYMENT

"NER" reports hundreds of new Executive positions monthly. U.S.—overseas. Many LITTLE-KNOWN. Free details! National Employment Reports, 301 N. Orchard (1), Farmington, New Mexico.

TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS: The Abbott Teachers Agency has specialized for 50 years in educational placement: Private and Public Schools; Junior-Senior Colleges. Brochure on request. 120 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Employers provide transportation and liberal vacations. Comprehensive new booklet, "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities in sixty countries, all occupations. Includes exclusive "Directory of American Companies Overseas." Special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send $1.00. Airmail 30c extra. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, New York.

JUNE HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE, five years French, experienced mother's helper, desires summer job with family traveling US or abroad. Box 890, New Republic.

YOUNG MAN, 28. COLUMBIA A.B., M.B.A. Art History, Network Television, Films, Visual Arts background. Desires responsible position, or partnership, in communications, the arts. Box 895, New Republic.

TRANSLATIONS professionally done. All languages. James A. Ardolino, 217 Parks Avenue, Joliet, Illinois.

WELL-KNOWN WRITER, publisher's reader aids in revising manuscripts. English, French. NYC. Box 455, New Republic.

SCHOOLS AND CAMPS

GREEN VALLEY SCHOOL: college preparation of dropouts, underachievers, and other children in trouble, Box 606G, Orange City, Florida 32763.

THE ROCK provides a summer of venturesome concerns and adventurous activities. An intimate atmosphere with a wide range of activities. Co-ed, 11-17. RFD, Williamsburg, Mass. Phone (413) 268-7069.

FOR STUDENTS 15-19. Special travel programs that emphasize doing, rather than just sightseeing, and close contact with people of other lands. Travel with European teenagers and live with a European family; speak French in France all summer; visit a Soviet Youth Camp; study Spanish in Spain – or choose from varied list of trips planned to help you know a part of Europe well. For full catalogue write: George N. Shumlin, Director, The European Travel-Camp, Putney, Vermont. (16th year.)

SUMMERLANE CAMP: freedom, love, work and joy, Box 25G, North Branch, New York.

STAR LAKE WRITING WORKSHOP, JUNE 5-30. Faculty and Lecturers: *James Dickey, Anais Nin, Paul Engle, Richard Poirier, Krishna Vaid.* Last date for applications: April 1, 1967. For details write Krishna Vaid, English Department, State University College, Potsdam, New York 13676.

VACATIONS/TRAVEL

SAVE MONEY ON YOUR NEXT TRIP to New York by staying at the Hotel Paris. The Paris is like a Volkswagen . . . we offer all the essential services but no frills; comfort but not luxury; a swimming pool but no night club. Ask for leaflets, "New York for Free" and "How to Enjoy New York." Write to M. R. Walter, Hotel Paris, New York 10025.

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. $1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

SIWA OASIS—Information about Siwa requested. Please write T. Smith, 306 West 109th Street, New York City.

YUCATAN. Nontourist Mexico. Studytour with Anthropologist. Gibson, Box 1697, Hyattsville, Maryland.

MEXICO VACATION – Gala rail tour June 18-July 2. Compare Arizona and Mexico's Grand Canyons. Oak Creek Canyon. "Pullman Camp" among Tarahumara Indians. Spectacular views from topless car! Great photos! Lower, most meals. From: San Francisco $550; Los Angeles $523; Albuquerque $501. WAMPLER TOURS, NR-Box 45, Berkeley, California 94701.

LYSISTRATA. In 1966 120 fortunate people cruised with Professor A. D. Winspear in his private yacht, the Lysistrata. By prompt action you might be one in 1967. Most cruises a fortnight, $180 inclusive. Accommodations April to September. For particulars write A. D. Winspear, P.O. Box 3265, Postal Station B, Calgary, Alberta, Canada.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE – $1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21AM Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

EXCITING ORIGINAL GRAPHICS, contemporary foreign artists; woodcuts, etchings, lithos; by subscription $3.50-$7 each. Brochure: Graphic Circle (NR), 68 Fifth Ave., NYC 10011.

OPPORTUNITY TO ACQUIRE DISTINGUISHED SCULPTURE by artist noted since 1929 at one-third less than gallery price. Photos, resume sent, orders estimated. Enid Bell, 701 Columbia Ave., North Bergen, New Jersey.

LITHOGRAPHS – GUARANTEED ORIGINAL Bargains from source. Authentic Picasso, Chagall, Miro, Matisse, etc. Certification. Usually $25-$75. Now $8-$25. Illustrated Catalog $1.00. Lith-originals, Cedarhurst, N.Y.

WHO'S AFRAID OF HERMAN RORSCHACH? Extraordinary psychedelic ink blots begin where Rorschach stopped. Complete set on 8 x 10 chrome coat $3.95. LABYRINTH, 550 Fifth Avenue, New York 10036.

DEMOCRAT? REPUBLICAN? HARVARD? Yale? Bryn Mawr? Radcliffe? Eloise? Jacqueline? Either party, any university's name, or anyone's first-name in gold-like script on handsome brooch-pin or tie-bar. $2.00 each. Box 810, New Republic.

BUY THE CRAFTS OF FREEDOM from co-ops in Mississippi. Hand-crafted suede bags, candles, Negro and white stuffed dolls, charming calico dresses, and more, are available from our free mail order catalog. Liberty House, P. O. Box 3193, Jackson, Miss.

ANDEAN SWEATERS – Ski? – Handsome, bulky, hand-knit, hand-spun, 100% wool sweaters – moderately priced. (C.D. Project.) Write: Sweaters, Box 118, Cuenca, Ecuador.

MUSIC

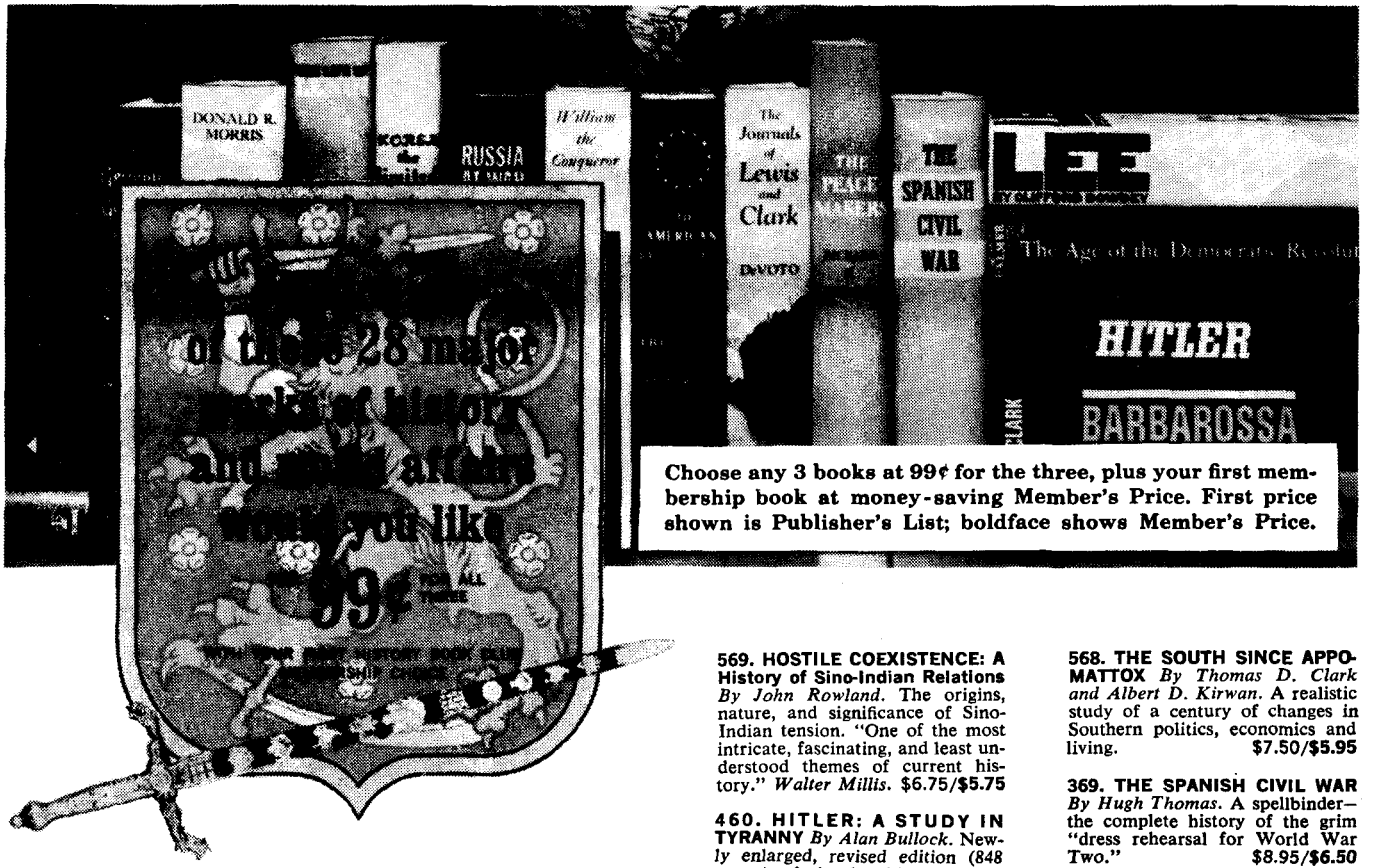
HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8710 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

SABATHIL HARPSICHORDS unite authentic sound and modern reliability. Vancouver, Canada.

PLASTIC LINED LP SLEEVES, with identification window. Empty outer jackets, 78 and 45 covers. Free details, samples 50c. CABCO, Section T.R.N., 89 East Woodruff, Columbus, Ohio 43201.

Printed by National Publishing Division
The McCall Printing Co.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Choose any 3 books at 99¢ for the three, plus your first membership book at money-saving Member's Price. First price shown is Publisher's List; boldface shows Member's Price.

545. VIET-NAM WITNESS *By Bernard B. Fall.* The evolution of our Viet-Nam crisis. "More useful than any other [book] to an understanding of the intricate issues." *Walter Millis.* $6.95/**$5.80**

562. MACHIAVELLI *By Giuseppe Prezzolini.* The life, times, works, and significance of the first modern political philosopher, in an erudite new review. $8.50/**$6.75**

101. HISTORY OF THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF *By Walter Goerlitz.* Story of the world's most feared war machine, 1657-1945. $7.50/**$5.95**

176. BYZANTIUM *By Charles Diehl.* Study of the glittering Byzantine Empire and its 1000-year rule. $8.50/**$6.95**

502. BARBAROSSA *By Alan Clark.* From German archives, an extraordinary military-political history of the war in Russia, 1941-5. $10.00/**$7.50**

492. INSIDE HITLER'S HEADQUARTERS *By Walter Warlimont.* The myth of Hitler's military "genius" exposed by a top aide. $9.95/**$7.95**

560. 1940 *By Laurence Thompson.* The year of the "phony war" as Hitler's armies conquer and America pledges to become the Arsenal of Democracy. $5.95/**$5.50**

508. WASHING OF THE SPEARS *By D. R. Morris.* Proud and tragic history of the Zulu nation, its brief glory and its downfall in the Zulu War, 1879. $12.00/**$7.95**

566. PRESIDENTIAL GREATNESS *By Thomas A. Bailey.* "Rating the American Presidents" game—played with wit, insight, and a sound grounding in American history. $6.95/**$5.95**

563. LATIN AMERICA *By German Arciniegas.* From Columbus to Castro—the ideas, customs, religions, literature and arts. $10.00/**$6.95**

537. THE BILL OF RIGHTS *By Irving Brant.* The struggle for civil liberties from Edward III to the Warren Court. $7.50/**$5.95**

441. WORLD OF HERODOTUS *By Aubrey de Selincourt.* Daily life in ancient Greece and the neighboring world. $6.50/**$5.50**

439. FALL OF THE HOUSE OF HABSBURG *By Edw. Crankshaw.* The decay and fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. $7.50/**$5.95**

546. DE GAULLE: A POLITICAL BIOGRAPHY *By Alexander Werth.* A look at the General as Resistance leader, right-wing demagogue, "eternal rebel." $7.50/**$5.95**

476. THE LIFE OF LENIN *By Louis Fischer.* The authoritative story winner of the National Book Award. $10.00/**$7.50**

444. MEDIEVAL HISTORY *By Norman F. Cantor.* Life and death of a grim yet colorful civilization. $8.95/**$7.40**

445. RISE OF THE WEST *By William H. McNeill.* National Book Award history of the human community since 6000 B.C. $12.50/**$9.50**

470. 20th CENTURY CHINA *By O. Edmund Clubb.* From Manchu to Mao—history by a veteran "China hand." $7.95/**$5.95**

554. THE TRIAL OF THE GERMANS: NUREMBERG 1945-46 *By Eugene Davidson.* Twenty-four biographies of the war criminals. $12.50/**$8.95**

569. HOSTILE COEXISTENCE: A History of Sino-Indian Relations *By John Rowland.* The origins, nature, and significance of Sino-Indian tension. "One of the most intricate, fascinating, and least understood themes of current history." *Walter Millis.* $6.75/**$5.75**

460. HITLER: A STUDY IN TYRANNY *By Alan Bullock.* Newly enlarged, revised edition (848 pages) of *the* definitive work on Hitler. $10.00/**$6.95**

464. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION *By G. O. Trevelyan.* Now in one volume, edited by Richard B. Morris—*the* great work by one of the foremost British historians. $10.00/**$6.95**

543. ANCIENT EUROPE *By Stuart Piggott.* From 6000 B.C. to the Roman era, this fascinating survey traces the prehistory of barbarian Europe. 194 illustrations. $7.50/**$6.15**

568. THE SOUTH SINCE APPOMATTOX *By Thomas D. Clark and Albert D. Kirwan.* A realistic study of a century of changes in Southern politics, economics and living. **$7.50/$5.95**

369. THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR *By Hugh Thomas.* A spellbinder—the complete history of the grim "dress rehearsal for World War Two." **$8.95/$6.50**

371. CIVIL WAR DICTIONARY *By M. M. Boatner III.* Encyclopedic inventory of battles, leaders, units, weapons, etc. $15.00/**$8.95**

110. JOURNALS OF LEWIS & CLARK *ed. by Bernard DeVoto.* The first expedition to penetrate the virgin Northwest. $7.50/**$5.95**

481. THE LONG DEATH *By Ralph K. Andrist.* The last days of the Plains Indians and their tragic struggle for survival against the Whites. **$8.95/$6.95**

UP TO $40.00 WORTH OF FINE BOOKS FOR ONLY 99¢ with membership

THE HISTORY BOOK CLUB Stamford, Conn. 06904

Please open a Trial Membership for me and send the introductory package of books indicated below. Bill me 99¢ for the three. At the same time, send the membership book I have also indicated and bill me for it at the low Member's Price.

I understand that I may return the books within 2 weeks if I am not delighted with them and that their return will automatically cancel my membership. Otherwise I shall complete my Trial Membership by purchasing 4 more selections during the coming year from among more than 100 offered at money-saving Member's Prices in the monthly REVIEW. (A reply card is always enclosed with the REVIEW.)

Completion of my Trial Membership will entitle me to choose a Bonus Book for every 4 books I purchase thereafter. (NOTE: Bonus Books are shipped at the Club's expense; on all other shipments a small postage and packing charge is added.)

Fill in numbers of your three introductory books, 99¢ for all three ☐ ☐ ☐

Fill in number of your choice at member's price ☐

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss _____ (please print)

Address _____

City _____ State & Zip Code _____

In Canada, same savings. Shipment of books and all services will be handled within Canada. Bonus plan differs slightly.

NR 15 S

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED